

John Donne and the Conway Papers
A Biographical and Bibliographical Study of
Poetry and Patronage in the Seventeenth Century

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This thesis investigates a seventeenth-century manuscript archive, the Conway Papers, in order to explain the relationship between the archive's owners and John Donne, the foremost manuscript poet of the century. An evaluation of Donne's legacy as a writer and thinker requires an understanding of both his medium of publication and the collectors and agents who acquired and circulated his work. The Conway Papers were owned by Edward, first Viscount Conway, Secretary of State to James I and Charles I, and Conway's son. Both men were also significant collectors of printed books. The archive as it survives, mainly in the British Library and National Archives, includes around 300 literary manuscripts ranging from court entertainments to bawdy ballads. This thesis fully evaluates the collection as a whole for the first time, including its complex history.

I ask three principal questions: what the Conway Papers are and how they were amassed; how the archive came to contain poetry and drama by Donne, Ben Jonson, Thomas Middleton and others; and what the significance of this fact is, both in terms of seventeenth-century theories about politics, patronage and society, and modern critical and historical interpretations. These questions cast new light on the early transmission of Donne's verse, especially his *Satires* and verse epistles. The Conway Papers emphasise the importance of Donne's closest friends – such as Sir Henry Goodere, George Gerrard and Rowland Woodward – in the dissemination of his poetry. The manuscripts help define Donne's earliest readership and establish why his writing was considered valuable cultural capital. Examining the transmission of these manuscripts from the poet to his readers, I present new arguments about Donne's role in a gift economy, and demonstrate how his writings were exchanged as symbols of intellectual amity between patrons and clients.

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Any mistakes that remain after all this help are entirely and deservedly my responsibility.

Abbreviations and Conventions

Common Abbreviations

For full details of these works, see List of Works Cited, p. 253.

Add. MS	British Library (BL), Additional Manuscript
Bald, <i>Life</i>	R. C. Bald, <i>John Donne: A Life</i>
Bod.	Bodleian Library, Oxford
BL	British Library, London
<i>Carleton to Chamberlain</i>	<i>Dudley Carleton to John Chamberlain 1603-1624: Jacobean Letters</i> , ed. Maurice Lee, Jr.
<i>CCEd</i>	<i>Clergy of the Church of England Database</i>
CRL	Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham
<i>CSPD</i>	<i>Calendar of State Papers Domestic</i>
CUL	Cambridge University Library
DnJ	John Donne entry in <i>Index</i> (see below)
fMS	Folio manuscript
GEC	G. E. C[ockayne], <i>The Complete Peerage</i>
<i>Handbook</i>	<i>The Oxford Handbook of John Donne</i> , eds. Jeanne Shami, Dennis Flynn and M. Thomas Hester
Harl. MS	British Library (BL), Harleian Manuscript
HEH	Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino, California
Herford and Simpson	Ben Jonson, <i>Ben Jonson</i> , eds. C. H. Herford, Simpson and E. Simpson, 11 vols.
<i>HMC</i>	Reports of the Historical Manuscripts Commission, subsequently divided by volume: <i>Salisbury (9)</i> <i>Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Most Hon. The Marquis of Salisbury, K.G., Preserved at Hatfield House, Hertfordshire</i> <i>Skrine (16)</i> <i>Eleventh Report, Appendix, Part I. The Manuscripts of Henry Duncan Skrine, Esq., Salvetti Correspondence</i> <i>Cowper (23)</i> <i>The Manuscripts of the Earl Cowper, K.G., Preserved at Melbourne Hall, Derbyshire</i> <i>Portland (29)</i> <i>Report on the Manuscripts of his Grace the Duke of Portland, K.G., Preserved at Welbeck Abbey</i>

- Buckleuch and Queensberry (45)* *Report on the Manuscripts of the Duke of Buckleuch and Queensberry, K. G., K. T., Preserved at Montagu House, Whitehall*
- Various (55)* *Report on Manuscripts in Various Collections*
- Downshire (75)* *Report on the Manuscripts of the Marquess of Downshire, Preserved at Easthampstead Park, Berks.*
- De L'Isle and Dudley (77)* *Report on the Manuscripts of the Right Honourable Viscount De L'Isle, V.C., Preserved at Penshurst Place, Kent*
- HPT* *The History of Parliament: The Commons 1604-1629*, 6 vols., eds. Andrew Thrush and John Ferris
- Index* *Index of English Literary Manuscripts*, 4 vols., ed. Peter Beal
- LCRO* Leicestershire County Record Office
- Letters* John Donne, *Letters to Severall Persons of Honor* (London, 1651)
- Nicolson* *Conway Letters*, ed. Marjorie Hope Nicolson, rev. edn., ed. Sarah Hutton
- ODNB* *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*
- OED* *Oxford English Dictionary*
- Poems (1633)* John Donne, *Poems, by J.D. VVith elegies on the authors death* (London, 1633)
- Poems (1635)* John Donne, *Poems by J.D.; with elegies on the authors death* (London, 1635)
- SBT* Shakespeare Birthplace Trust, Stratford-upon-Avon, Warwickshire
- Shapiro Papers* Papers of I. A. Shapiro, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham (on deposit at Bentley University, Massachusetts)
- SP* State Papers, held at the National Archives (TNA)
- STC* *A Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, and Ireland, and of English Books Printed Abroad, 1475-1640*, compiled by A. W. Pollard and G. R. Redgrave, 2nd edition
- TMC* Toby Matthew and John Donne, jr., *A Collection of Letters, made by Sr Tobie Mathews Kt* (London, 1660)
- TNA* The National Archives (formerly Public Record Office), Kew, London
- Variorum* *The Variorum Edition of the Poetry of John Donne*, gen. ed. Gary Stringer
- VCH Warwickshire* *Victoria History of the Counties of England: Warwickshire*, eds. William Page, Philip Styles *et al.*
- WCRO* Warwickshire County Record Office, Warwick

Referring to Donne's works

When citing Donne's works, I make clear in footnotes or by context which manuscript or printed text I am using. As a general rule, I follow the policy of *Handbook*, using *Variorum* texts published to date (see below). I cite the *Satires* and verse epistles from Milgate's edition (1967), and remaining poems from Patrides (1985), the most readily available modern text of *Poems* (1633).

***Donne Variorum* terminology for manuscripts and poems referred to in this thesis (a full list can be found in any *Variorum* volume)**

Manuscripts

B11	BL, Add. MS 23,229 (Conway MS)
B13	BL, Add. MS 25,707 (Skipwith MS)
B33	BL, Harl. MS 5110
C1	CUL, Add. MS 29 (Edward Smyth MS)
C2	CUL, Add. MS 5778 (Cambridge Balam MS)
C8	CUL, Add. MS 8467 (Leconfield MS)
F21	Folger Shakespeare Library, X.d.580 (Rudston MS)
H3	Harvard University Library, fMS Eng 966.1 (Norton MS)
H5	Harvard University Library, MS Eng. 966.4 (Dobell MS)
H6	Harvard University Library, MS. Eng. 966.5 (O'Flaherty MS)
HH4	HEH, HM 198 (Book I, Haslewood-Kingsborough MS)
HH5	HEH, HM 198 (Book II, Haslewood-Kingsborough MS)
LP1	TNA, SP 9/51
LR1	DG7/Lit.2 (Burley MS)
NY3	New York Public Library, Berg Collection (Westmoreland MS)
O13	Bod., Eng. poet. c.50
O21	Bod., Eng. poet. f.9 (Phillipps MS)
OQ1	The Queen's College, Oxford, MS 216
P2	Privately owned MS separate in the hand of Sir Nathaniel Rich, entitled 'Meditation vpon a Good friday, ryding from London towards Exceter, westward' (also cited as <i>Index</i> , DnJ 1430)

PT2	Privately owned MS separate in the hand of Sir Nathaniel Rich, entitled 'Meditation on a good friday ridinge from London into y ^e West Countrey' (also cited as <i>Index</i> , DnJ 1431)
R9	Rosenbach Museum and Library, Philadelphia, PA, 1083/16 (Bishop MS)
VA1	V&A, Cat. No. 17, ms. 25.F.16 (Neve MS)
Y2	Yale University Library, Osborn Collection, b114 (Raphael King MS)
Y3	Yale University Library, Osborn Collection, b148 (Osborn MS)

Poems

<i>AltVic</i>	A Letter Written by Sir H. G. and J. D. Alternis Vicibus ['Since every tree begins']
<i>BedfWrit</i>	To the Countess of Bedford ['To have written then']
<i>Calm</i>	The Calm ['Our storm is past']
<i>CB</i>	To Mr. C. B. ['Thy friend whom thy deserts']
<i>Eclog</i>	Eclogue at the Marriage of the Earl of Somerset ['Unseasonable man, statue of ice']
<i>ED</i>	To E. of D. with Six Holy Sonnets ['See, Sir, how as the sun's']
<i>EG</i>	To Mr. E. G. ['Even as lame things']
<i>EpEliz</i>	Epithalamion upon ... the Lady Elizabeth ['Hail Bishop Valentine']
<i>Goodf</i>	Goodfriday 1613. Riding Westward ['Let man's soul be a sphere']
<i>Ham</i>	An Hymn to the Saints and to the Marquis of Hamilton ['Whether that soul which now comes']
<i>Henry</i>	Elegy on the Untimely Death of ... Prince Henry ['Look to me, Faith']
<i>HG</i>	To Sr. Henry Goodyere ['Who makes the past a pattern']
<i>Lam</i>	The Lamentations of Jeremy ['How sits this city']
<i>Lit</i>	A Litany ['Father of heaven and him']
<i>LovInf</i>	Lovers' Infiniteness ['If yet I have not all thy love']
<i>LovUsury</i>	Love's Usury ['For every hour that thou wilt spare me']
<i>RWEnvy</i>	To Mr. R. W. ['Kindly I envy thy song's']
<i>RWMind</i>	To Mr. R. W. ['Muse not that by thy mind']
<i>RWSlumb</i>	To Mr. R. W. ['If as mine is thy life a slumber be']
<i>RWThird</i>	To Mr. R. W. ['Like one who in her third widowhood']

<i>RWZeal</i>	To Mr. R. W. ['Zealously my muse']
<i>Sat1</i>	Satire 1 ['Away thou fondling motley humorist']
<i>Sat2</i>	Satire 2 ['Sir, though (I thank God for it) I do hate']
<i>Sat3</i>	Satire 3 ['Kind pity chokes my spleen']
<i>Sat4</i>	Satire 4 ['Well, I may now receive and die']
<i>Sat5</i>	Satire 5 ['Thou shalt not laugh in this leaf, Muse']
<i>Storm</i>	The Storm ['Thou which art I']
<i>TWHail</i>	To Mr. T. W. ['All hail sweet poet']
<i>TWHarsh</i>	To Mr. T. W. ['Haste thee harsh verse']
<i>TWHence</i>	To Mr. T. W. ['At once from hence']
<i>TWPreg</i>	To Mr. T. W. ['Pregnant again']

Journals

<i>Anglia</i>	<i>Anglia</i>
<i>BJRL</i>	<i>Bulletin of the John Rylands Library</i>
<i>BIHR</i>	<i>Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research</i>
<i>DQR</i>	<i>Dutch Quartlery Review</i>
<i>EC</i>	<i>Essays in Criticism</i>
<i>EHR</i>	<i>English Historical Review</i>
<i>ELH</i>	<i>English Literary History</i>
<i>EMS</i>	<i>English Manuscript Studies, 1100-1700</i>
<i>ERC</i>	<i>Explorations in Renaissance Culture</i>
<i>HLB</i>	<i>Harvard Library Bulletin</i>
<i>HLQ</i>	<i>Huntington Library Quarterly</i>
<i>HJ</i>	<i>Historical Journal</i>
<i>HT</i>	<i>History Today</i>
<i>JDJ</i>	<i>John Donne Journal</i>
<i>JES</i>	<i>Journal of Elizabethan Studies</i>
<i>LC</i>	<i>Literature Compass</i>
<i>LHSJ</i>	<i>Lisburn Historical Society Journal</i>
<i>LI</i>	<i>Literary Imagination</i>

<i>Library</i>	<i>The Library</i>
<i>LRB</i>	<i>London Review of Books</i>
<i>MLN</i>	<i>Modern Language Notes</i>
<i>MLR</i>	<i>Modern Language Review</i>
<i>MP</i>	<i>Modern Philology</i>
<i>NQ</i>	<i>Notes & Queries</i>
<i>PBSA</i>	<i>Publications of the Bibliographical Society of America</i>
<i>PQ</i>	<i>Philological Quarterly</i>
<i>RES</i>	<i>Review of English Studies</i>
<i>RN</i>	<i>Renaissance News</i>
<i>RQ</i>	<i>Renaissance Quarterly</i>
<i>SC</i>	<i>Seventeenth Century</i>
<i>SEL</i>	<i>Studies in English Literature 1500-1900</i>
<i>SB</i>	<i>Studies in Bibliography</i>
<i>SP</i>	<i>Studies in Philology</i>
<i>SQ</i>	<i>Shakespeare Quarterly</i>
<i>TLS</i>	<i>Times Literary Supplement</i>
<i>TRHS</i>	<i>Transactions of the Royal Historical Society</i>
<i>UTQ</i>	<i>University of Toronto Quarterly</i>
<i>YES</i>	<i>Yearbook of English Studies</i>

Identifying the Conways

It is easy to confuse the elder and younger Edward Conways, the first and second viscounts (and the younger man's son, also Edward). Throughout this thesis, I have tried to make it clear to which man I am referring. As a rule, in the footnotes, 'Conway' signifies the the most senior living male at that date. For Conway family trees, see Appendix 2.

Sir John Conway (1535-1603)

Edward Conway (c.1564-1631), first Viscount Conway and Killultagh

Edward Conway (1594-1655), second Viscount Conway and Killultagh

Edward Conway (c.1623-1683), Earl of Conway

Dating

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the new year was taken to begin on 25 March. I have silently modernised in order to begin the year on 1 January. Where letters were sent between England and the Continent, there was a calendar discrepancy of ten days, and I have given both dates (e.g. 10/20 August 1610).

Appendices

Because much of my analysis is dependent on texts and data that are not readily accessible to all potential readers of this thesis, I have provided a series of appendices for ease of reference. The body of my thesis is intended to be self-sufficient, but these appendices make clear the information on which my work is based.

Editorial Conventions

I have consulted original documents wherever possible. In order to maintain fidelity to the originals, when transcribing manuscripts I have retained original contractions (e.g. ‘Lo:’ for Lord or Lorship) and early modern usage of *i/j* and *u/v*. However, I have expanded letters signified by a tilde, or by a crossed *p*, signalling the missing letters in italics (e.g. ‘common’, ‘person’). Corrections are signalled using the following conventions.

\xxx/	word/phrase inserted above the line (with or without caret as indicated)
[xxx]	deleted word
<xxx>	unreadable word, because of paper damage or illegible handwriting

When manuscripts are cited in the main body of my thesis, I elide deletions and accept authorial corrections whenever these do not have a bearing on my argument. When citing from printed works, I have on one or two occasions silently corrected obvious printers’ errors. A more detailed editorial apparatus is given in Appendix 12.

Citation Conventions

At the National Archives, State Papers are arranged in large folio volumes, which include individual leaves, bifolia and booklets. On the original documents, librarians have indicated foliation through each volume with stamped numbers in the upper corners, while entire

documents within volumes (like booklets) are identified in pencil. SP 14/1/1 might therefore also be SP 14/1, fols. 1-20. Having used both original documents and digitised versions on the electronic resource *State Papers Online*, I have found that domestic state papers are most easily identified by entry number (e.g. SP 14/4/18) but foreign state paper by folio (e.g. SP 84/28, fol. 474), and I have followed this system throughout.

All books cited are published in London unless otherwise specified. All names follow the *ODNB*, except for Anne More/Donne. George Gerrard, who does not have an *ODNB* entry, tends to spell his name Gerrard not Garrard; Sir Henry Goodere never spells his own name with a y.

Introduction

How and why did men and women send handwritten poetry, drama and literary prose to their friends and social superiors in the seventeenth century, and what were the consequences of these communications? Within this culture of manuscript publication, why did John Donne (1572-1631), an author who attempted to limit the circulation of his works, become the most transcribed writer of his age? The Conway Papers offer an opportunity to examine these questions in great detail. A manuscript archive amassed by a family of soldiers and statesmen over a century, from the beginning of Elizabeth's reign until the Restoration, the Conway Papers afford insights into the workings of manuscript circulation, from the moment a scribe identified his or her source text, through the process of transcription and onwards to the results and ramifications of this literary circulation. Furthermore, a close analysis of the Conway Papers reveals important new information about Donne's life, friends and works.

Numerous challenges face the researcher approaching the Conway Papers. The manuscripts are in a state of disorder after many years' neglect, and existing biographies of the archive's owners do not sufficiently account for their literary interests. The rewards for persistence, however, are multifold. Because they include the correspondence of two seventeenth-century secretaries of state, the Conway Papers preserve many unique political documents; furthermore, within the many thousands of Conway Papers lie around 170 manuscripts containing literary works. This thesis offers the first sustained study of the archive as a whole. It establishes the biographical, historical and archival contexts that produced these manuscripts and brought them into the Conway Papers. It then offers a detailed study of the Conways' Donne-related manuscripts, asking what happened to this writer's works in the first decades after they were written; how they were circulated, appropriated and used; how they escaped the private networks of circulation into which they were initially released; and what this process can tell us about contemporary perceptions of literary works and the role of literature in creating bonds of friendship and loyalty.

This thesis makes original arguments about the circulation of Donne's *Biathanatos*, *Problems*, *Satires* and several of his letters in verse and prose. I investigate the early readers and collectors of Donne, with a particular focus on Donne's friends Sir Henry Goodere, George Gerrard and Rowland Woodward. Most significantly, I have conducted the first full-scale investigation of Edward Conway (c.1564-1631), first Viscount Conway, principal Secretary of State to two consecutive English monarchs, and his son, Edward Conway (1594-1655), second Viscount Conway, perhaps the greatest private book collector of the seventeenth century. Both men had significant connections to writers and texts whose cultural impact was often as political as it was literary. I present new information about the elder Edward Conway's links to Middleton's play *A Game at Chess*, and the younger Conway's friendships with John Donne Jr., William Davenant, Sir John Denham and Edmund Waller. Research for this thesis has necessitated a detailed reconstruction of the Conway Papers, an archive that is damaged and dispersed. My work has also led to important preliminary investigations of the second Viscount's major libraries. I present for the first time the poetry of Frances, Lady Pelham, and reveal new information about another relatively unknown female poet, Elizabeth Bourne. I have recovered almost-forgotten but intriguing figures such as Heliogranrith Smith, Sir Hercules Hunckes and Grimbald Pauncefoot. A sonnet-writing dog also makes a cameo appearance.

The biographical evidence for a Donne–Conway relationship

According to R. C. Bald, whose *John Donne: A Life* (1970) remains the standard full-length academic biographical resource, Donne's correspondence sometimes makes 'casual reference to many ... men and women with whom he was on terms of greater or less familiarity'.¹ Among these men and women, Bald lists Sir Edward Conway, later the first Viscount Conway. This thesis attempts to define the relationship between Donne and Conway more precisely. The methodologies I employ to explore both Donne and the Conway Papers are informed by a significant body of academic work, but before

¹ *Life*, p. 199. The other principal contemporary biographical resource is David Colclough's *ODNB* entry for Donne. I have not relied on Edmund Gosse's *The Life and Letters of John Donne*, 2 vols. (1899), which has acquired a reputation for factual and transcriptional inaccuracy. For John Carey's biography, see below.

I develop my position within recent criticism, I will explain the biographical lacunae in Donne's life that inspired this study.

The rector of St. Faith's, 1624

Considering the apparently strong bibliographical ties between Donne and Conway, namely the poetical manuscripts analysed in Chapters 4 and 5, there is scant overt evidence that the two men ever met. I was persuaded that the question was worth pursuing, however, because one of the few surviving letters in Donne's autograph (one of only 38) was addressed to Conway. It was sent late in Donne's life, nine years after he had taken orders and three years after he had been appointed Dean of St. Paul's. Conway had been Secretary of State for two years. Regardless of how closely acquainted they were on a personal level, as senior men of church and state, each would have recognised the other in a professional capacity. On 26 March 1624, Donne had appointed William Woodford to be rector of St. Faith's, one of the livings in the nomination of the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's.² Woodford had served as chaplain to James Hay, Viscount Doncaster, on Hay's embassy to Germany in 1619, which Donne had also accompanied. King James had other plans, moving Woodford to Upton-upon-Severn in Worcestershire, and filling the newly vacant position with his own nominee. James notified Donne at the end of 1624 that

We are moved by our especial favour to William Woodford, now minister of St. Faith's, to dispose of him in another place, which, for some consideration, cannot well be effected without your consent and allowance of Emmanuel Smith to succeed him in the Cure of St. Faith's.³

Donne dutifully fulfilled his instructions, but afterwards wrote to Conway on 7 December 1624 to explain his quandary: Donne had promised the reversion of St. Faith's to another man, and had been compelled to break his word to this worthy supplicant (see Appendix 1, pp. 298-9, for a transcription). After Donne's intercession, Emmanuel Smith was duly appointed, and James sent Donne his thanks on 31 December.

² Woodford is not listed in the *CCEd*.

³ Quoted in *Life*, p. 393. Smith, too, is unlisted in the *CCEd*.

This is the only letter between the two men known to have survived, and conclusively demonstrates an instance of a Donne autograph manuscript travelling directly between the poet and the elder Edward Conway. The paper is not officially part of the Conway Papers, as it lacks the stamp described in Chapter 3, but it was almost certainly read by Conway.⁴ The address, ‘At my poore house at Pauls’ offers a hint of self-prostration – a reminder that despite his ecclesiastical seniority, Donne was partially reliant on Conway in this address to the monarch – but the letter does not start with the rhetorical performances usually associated with appeals for patronage. Indeed, Donne is not asking Conway for patronage: the King is identified as Donne’s patron, and Conway is acting as the messenger between them, a ‘patronage broker’ of the kind I will describe in Chapter 5. In suggesting that they had not corresponded for some time – ‘yo^w wyll be pleasd to returne [me] to yor knowledge’ (lines 27-8) – Donne acknowledges previous contact. However, Donne was here performing his duty as Dean by writing to the King’s secretary: ‘yt becomes me to giue an account therof’ (6); ‘I thought it necessary to signify so much to yor Honor’ (20-1). The language of the letter expresses its function as a formal letter of administration, in which it would not be appropriate to exchange personal comments, which may be why it seems to indicate little about Donne and Conway’s relationship.

Nevertheless, the letter is revealing about Donne’s attitude towards James. Twice he expresses his ‘desire to serve hys M^{tie}’ (13-14, 23-4),

from whom I haue, not onely (as other men haue) receyud my lyuelyhood, but my preisthood[.] (24-5)

Donne’s sentence would have been complete and sufficiently grateful without this clause, and the clause itself would make sense without the parenthetical interjection. But Donne deliberately clarifies his meaning, and then clarifies the clarification. He acknowledges that James has provided for him financially (his livelihood), but also

⁴ Other letters may have passed between them: Beal notes that 35 of Donne’s letters, now lost, were recorded in an inventory of Drury family property, and as Baird Whitlock observes, countless other Donne missives must have disappeared over the years. *Index*, 1.1.244; B. W. Whitlock, ‘Donne’s University Years’, *English Studies*, 43 (1962), pp. 1-20.

spiritually (his priesthood), and he is careful to distinguish between these two aspects of his role at St. Paul's. His service is figured not only in terms of bureaucratic obligation to James in return for his employment – the administration of his parish obligations is part of his *religious* duty. Donne thus sets himself apart from 'other men' favoured by the King, who serve for financial benefit alone. Close literary and bibliographical study of Donne's poems in Conway's collection suggests new ways of understanding Donne's engagement with ideas of patronage in the seventeenth century, issues to which I return in Chapter 5 and in my Conclusion.

The Virginia Company, 1622

Donne may have known Conway personally through the Virginia Company, the joint stock company set up in 1606 to establish settlements in America. Conway's name is fairly prominent in the Virginia Company's documentation, as are the names of several of Donne's friends. Conway was appointed to the Company's council on 23 May 1609, when their second charter was instigated; he, his son Thomas and his kinsman Sir Horace Vere were among the 715 signatories of this document.⁵ Also in 1609, Conway was one of the 14 signatories (Donne's friend Christopher Brooke was another) to Lord de la Warre's appointment as Lord Governor and Captain General of Virginia.⁶ By 1619, membership of the Company was open to anyone who adventured £12 10s. or more: in 1610, Conway invested £75; Brooke and Sir Henry Goodere each put in £37 10s. for the same project.⁷ Conway invested another £100 in 1618, his wife Katherine, £25, and Thomas Conway (his brother or son), £37 10s.⁸ In early 1609, the Virginia Company drew up a new charter, which named as members several of Donne's friends, including Sir Francis Wolley, Sir Thomas Roe and Brooke.⁹ Later, in 1611, more names were added to this list – Sir John Danvers, Richard Martin, Arthur Ingram and Goodere. In 1612 it expanded yet further: the Countess of Bedford, Lord Hay, Sir Robert Rich, Sir

⁵ Alexander Brown, *The Genesis of the United States*, 2 vols. (1890), 1.208-37.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 1.375-84.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 1.466.

⁸ Susan M. Kingsbury, *The Records of the Virginia Company of London*, 4 vols. (Washington DC, 1906), 3.82.

⁹ Stanley Johnson, 'John Donne and the Virginia Company', *ELH*, 14 (1947), pp. 127-38, at p. 127.

Henry Wotton, George Gerrard and Lionel Cranfield all became members.¹⁰ Donne's earliest known interest in the Company can be dated to 14 February 1609, when Chamberlain told Carleton that 'John Dun seekes to be preferred to be secretarie of Virginia'.¹¹ R. C. Bald, George Potter and Evelyn Simpson, Richard Rambuss and Harold Cooper all believed that Donne sought to *go to* Virginia to be secretary.¹² It is much more likely that Donne was simply applying to be a secretary for the Virginia Company in London; the secretary's responsibilities involved interacting with a beadle, husband and book-keeper, who were all part of the administrative procedure at home.¹³ In either case, Donne did not receive this post.

The potential overlap with Conway at the Virginia Company occurred later, when Donne became an honorary member of the council on 22 May 1622.¹⁴ Conway, an ordinary member of the council since 1609, was appointed an honorary member at the same time:

Vpon the like mocion in the behalf of S^r Edward Barkham the Lo: Mayo^r of this Cittie and m^r Henage ffinch Recorder, in regard of their well wishinge to this Plantacion and readines to doe the Companie service this Court haue made them free ||and|| of the Counsell. ... The like fauo^r in regard of their worthines the Court hath affoorded to these followinge. viz

S^r Edw: Conway.

S^r Tho: Couentry his Ma^{ty}s Atturney Generall.

S^r Hen: Mildmay m^r of the Iewell howse.

Do^r Io: Dunn Deane of Paules.¹⁵

While we may deduce that Donne and Conway met on this date, there is no evidence to prove that these men were actually present at this session: any of them could have been

¹⁰ Johnson, p. 128.

¹¹ John Chamberlain, *Letters*, ed. Norman E. McClure, 2 vols. (Philadelphia, PA, 1939), 2.284.

¹² R. C. Bald, *Donne & the Drurys* (Cambridge, 1959), p. 85; George R. Potter, and Evelyn Simpson (eds.), *The Sermons of John Donne*, 10 vols. (Berkeley and Los Angeles, CA, 1953-62), 4.37; Richard Rambuss, *Spenser's Secret Career* (Cambridge, 1993), p. 63; Harold Cooper, 'John Donne and Virginia in 1610', *MLN*, 57 (1942), pp. 661-3, *passim*. Cooper misdates Chamberlain's letter to 1610, adding a year to account for the New Style of dating, without realising his source had already done so.

¹³ Kingsbury, *Introduction*, p. 74.

¹⁴ See Johnson, 'John Donne and the Virginia Company', p. 130.

¹⁵ Kingsbury, *Records*, 2.76; cf. *ibid.* 2.89. The appointment was announced at a meeting on 3 July.

made members of the council *in absentia*. Donne preached to the Company on 13 November 1622, as Chamberlain recorded:

On Wensday night the Virginia companie had a feast or meeting at Marchant-taylors Hall, whether many of the nobilitie and counsaile were invited but few came. They spent [i.e. consumed] 21 does and were between three and fowre hundred at three shillings a man: the Deane of Paules preached, according to the common custome of all feasting nowadays.¹⁶

This extract constitutes proof that the Company organised social occasions, and that a sermon by Donne was probably a regular fixture there: in other words, this is evidence to support the conjecture that the two men were familiar to one another. But Chamberlain observes how few council members came to the meal, suggesting that, if they did meet through the Virginia Company, it was not on this occasion. The two men may have crossed paths at council meetings, which Donne sometimes attended but, again, no evidence has yet been identified to support this case.¹⁷ What seems more likely is that the two men met abroad ten years earlier, in 1612.

At Spa with the Drurys, 1612

Donne's *The First Anniuersary. An Anatomie of the World* was published in 1611 to commemorate the death in 1610 of Elizabeth Drury, daughter of Sir Robert Drury. Probably as a result of the poem, which Drury saw in manuscript before it was printed, the two men became friendly and Sir Robert later arranged for Donne to move into a building near his own property on Drury Lane, where he stayed until 1621.¹⁸ In 1611, Drury was licensed to travel abroad for three years with his family, and invited Donne to join them. Between April and August 1612 they travelled through Frankfurt, Heidelberg, Spa, Maastricht, Louvain and Brussels.¹⁹ A letter from Donne to Goodere, dated 16 August 1612 and probably written at Brussels (though incorrectly headed, in the posthumously printed *Letters to Severall Persons of Honour*, to Sir Thomas Lucy),²⁰

¹⁶ Chamberlain, *Letters*, 2.464. Quoted in Potter and Simpson, 4.36.

¹⁷ Potter and Simpson, 4.137.

¹⁸ David Colclough, 'John Donne', *ODNB*.

¹⁹ Bald, *Drurys*, pp. 85-103. Bald never explicitly states what the purpose of this journey was, and the answer remains unclear.

²⁰ See R. E. Bennett, 'Donne's Letters from the Continent in 1611-12', *PQ*, 19 (1940), 66-78, at p. 76.

records the difficulties of co-ordinating arrivals and departures in seventeenth-century Europe:

I Have scarce had at any time any thing so like news to write to you, as that I am at this Town; we came from Spâ with so much resolution of passing by *Holland*. But at *Mastricht* we found that the lownesse, and slacknesse of the River, would incommode us so much, as we charged [changed?] our whole gests [stages of a journey], and came hither by Land. In the way at *Lovaine* we met the E. of *Arondel*, to recompense the losse wee had of missing my L. *Chandis* and his company, who came to Spâ within a few hours after we came away. Sir *Ed. Conaway*, by occasion of his bodies indisposition, was gone home before: he told me he had some hope of you about *Bartholomewtide* [24 August]: But because I half understood by a Letter from you, that you were determined upon the Countrie [i.e. Goodere was determined to remain at his Warwickshire estate] till *Michaelmas* [29 September], I am not so earnest in endeavouring to prolong our stay in these parts, as otherwise I should. If I could joine with him in that hope of seeing you on this side the water; and if you should hold that purpose of comming at that time, I should repent extremely my laying of our journies [i.e. pre-planning them so that there was no flexibility to the schedule; see *OED*, *n.1a*]; for (if we should by miracle hold any resolution) we should be in *England* about that time, so that I might misse you both here, and there.²¹

This passage strongly suggests that Donne met and conversed with Conway in Spa. Furthermore, it indicates that there had been tentative plans for Conway, Donne and Goodere to meet together abroad in 1612. This circumstance has important ramifications for the circulation of Donne's literary manuscripts, as it suggests the three men were all on close terms, a matter I explore in detail in Chapters 4 and 5.

Donne's letter indicates that Conway was suffering from one of his regular bouts of illness; in fact, as Conway explained to Adam Newton, Lady Conway, too, sought the medicinal waters on this occasion, after 'a long sickness'.²² The precise circumstances of the Spa meeting are ambiguous. The two men appear to have had a conversation ('he told me ...'), but Donne also implies that Conway had left before the Drury party arrived, so this interaction possibly happened by letter. Alternatively, Conway might have 'gone home before' Lord Chandos's party arrived, and could therefore have spoken

²¹ *Letters*, pp. 187-8.

²² Conway to Adam Newton, 29 June 1612, see Thomas Birch, *The Life of Henry Prince of Wales* (1760), p. 514 and BL, Harl. MS 7002, fols. 215 and 223. For more on Newton, see Chapter 2, pp. 55-6.

to Donne before he left. The third possibility is that Donne and Conway had met prior to the event that Conway was too ill to attend in full. The episode is vital in establishing a definite link between the two men, but is again opaque about their relationship. There is one more occasion when Donne and Conway may have met, probably in 1610, and also involving Goodere. However, yet again, the evidence is plagued with ambiguity. In order to probe its implications most fully, I will postpone discussion of this incident until Chapter 5 (pp. 205-10), where it can best be contextualised.

Missing links?

Given the lack of definitive evidence about direct contact between Donne and Conway, we may consider the alternative routes by which Donne manuscripts *might* have come into the Conway Papers. Potential conduits between him and the elder Edward Conway include Goodere, Ben Jonson, Lodewijk Rouzee, Richard Connock, Sir Francis Nethersole, Elizabeth, Queen of Bohemia, Sir Constantijn Huygens and Sir Henry Wotton. The younger Edward Conway corresponded with John Donne junior, George Gerrard and Archbishop Laud. All these men and women potentially or definitely had access to the elder Donne's manuscripts and each presents possible complications to the narrative offered in this thesis. More documentary evidence may one day emerge to strengthen the connections between the Conways and the individuals listed above. However, the story of John Donne and the Conway Papers that I present here is, to me, the most convincing interpretation of the current known facts.

Critical background: Bibliographical methodology

This thesis focuses a range of bibliographical methodologies on one manuscript archive in order to advance our understanding of the Donne–Conway relationship. In his 1998 work *In Praise of Scribes*, Peter Beal summarised the questions implicit in the following pages:

What is this manuscript trying to tell us? Why is it constituted the way it is? What can we understand from it about the circumstances of, and reasons for, its production? And how should we be dealing with this evidence?²³

²³ Peter Beal, *In Praise of Scribes* (Oxford, 1998), p. v.

Other questions I ask include: Why does this manuscript survive in its current state? Who has owned it? And what can we discern about the original conditions in which it was sent and kept? The resources available to address these questions, especially with regard to Donne, are considerable. Beal's *Index of English Literary Manuscripts* (1980) initiated and underpinned much important work in the field by cataloguing the surviving manuscripts of all major authors from the period. As this thesis was completed, the *Index* was due to be relaunched online in an expanded form as the *Catalogue of English Literary Manuscripts*. Four books published in the 1990s pioneered critical paradigms for the study of early-modern manuscripts. Harold Love's *Scribal Publication in Seventeenth-Century England* (1993; republished in America as *The Culture and Commerce of Texts*, 1998) insists that an understanding of 'scribal publication' helps account for the transmission- and reception-history of a text, and shows how these informed contemporary reading experiences. Considered without regard to its original bibliographical status, Love observes, a seventeenth-century poem suffers

a decontextualization which it is one of the tasks of the historicist critic to reverse ... Any attempt to enter that first reading experience must always take account of the company poems were accustomed to keep.²⁴

Focusing specifically on the agents of manuscript publication, Beal's *In Praise of Scribes* highlights the work of scribes as 'key agents in the process of written communication and literary transmission'.²⁵ H. R. Woudhuysen's *Sir Philip Sidney and the Circulation of Manuscripts, 1559-1640* (1996) investigates manuscript publication from the perspective of one author's literary canon. To comprehend the early circulation of Sidney's work, Woudhuysen argues, it is not enough to collate the texts and develop stemmas (as produced in the second half of his book). One also has to understand the nature of manuscript publication itself, the technologies involved and the activities of the people who produced and consumed the texts, all of which are extensively scrutinised in the first half of the book.

²⁴ Love, *Culture and Commerce*, p. 6. I refer to the 1998 edition in this thesis.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. v.

Arthur Marotti's *Manuscript, Print, and the English Renaissance Lyric* (1995) challenges literary criticism of early modern poetry that relies on assumptions based on printed texts. The original readers of many of those poems had in fact encountered them in manuscript, and would have understood them within the conventions of the manuscript medium. Marotti argues that the move from manuscript to print conceptually transported the lyric away from a medium in which adaptation and appropriation were considered normal, and re-situated it in a medium which established fixed, 'authorised' versions of texts. He correctly notes that the manuscript medium was inherently unstable and led to multiple textual corruptions, but more contentiously also posits that by releasing his poems into this medium, Donne tacitly endorsed a non-author-centric mode of publishing. This strand of Marotti's argument is indebted to the theoretical insights of Jerome McGann's *A Critique of Modern Textual Criticism* (1983) and D. F. McKenzie's *Bibliography and the Sociology of Texts* (1986). These authors reacted against W. W. Greg's article 'The Rationale of Copy-Text', which established the notion of an ideal, author-centric copy-text that could be recreated even from multiple, corrupt witnesses.²⁶ In Steven May's summary of McGann and McKenzie's work,

texts come to us as collaborative efforts modified by various agents that intervene in the process of their physical transmission. According to this theory, individual authorial intention cannot, and probably should not, be recovered from the documents that emerge from the social text blender. We are urged instead to appreciate the resultant textual mosaic as a socially created artifact.²⁷

The McGann–McKenzie model of a socialised text, taken to its logical conclusion, renders the author's creative impetus practically negligible when one is considering the final artefact.

In contrast, I consciously use my conclusions to reflect on authorial agency because I am cautiously sceptical about Marotti's claims that modern-day notions of authorial intention are anachronistic when applied to early-modern texts. Marotti proposes that in a socialised textual reading of Donne, the author's

²⁶ *Studies in Bibliography*, 3 (1950-1), pp. 19-36.

²⁷ Steven W. May, 'Renaissance Manuscript Anthologies: Editing the Social Editors', *EMS*, 11 (2002), pp. 203-16, at p. 204. The summary is of McGann, but it can be applied to McKenzie too.

poetic texts would emerge as socially-generated constructs, produced initially in some (only partially recoverable) authorial forms but accessible mainly through the historical *reproductions* encouraged by the system of manuscript transmission into which they were released and continued by the transformative processes of print technology and conventions. So, too, ‘Donne’ as an author would appear to be less an idealized font of creative originality and more an historically-evolving, socially-produced literary identity, the result of ‘corrupt’ as well as ‘authoritative,’ spurious and dubious as well as authenticated, texts, original social contexts as well as successive historical acts of recontextualization.²⁸

My methodology involves attempting to recreate the entire social history of manuscripts in order to trace their routes of transmission. It thus examines the physical evidence of texts ‘in sociocentric rather than in author-centric ways’, as Marotti has urged, but the relationship between those texts and their authors remains crucial to my argument. As Steven May noted in his review of Marotti’s book, scribal copies deviate *from* an authorial original, so it is not necessarily nostalgic or anachronistic to seek to recover this.²⁹

Works that have advanced the editorial problems inherent in Donne’s texts are too numerous to list here, but include the Oxford editions of Gardner, Milgate, Healy and Peters (1952-80), and Alan MacColl’s useful summary of the field in 1972.³⁰ The most significant advance in textual criticism of Donne at the time of writing is *The Variorum Edition of the Poetry of John Donne* (1995–), under the general editorship of Gary A. Stringer.³¹ As this thesis was completed, four volumes of a projected eight had been published, volumes 2 (*The Elegies*), 6 (*The Anniversaries and the Epicedes and Obsequies*), 7.1 (*The Holy Sonnets*) and 8 (*The Epigrams, Epithalamions, Epitaphs,*

²⁸ Arthur F. Marotti, ‘Manuscript, Print, and the English Renaissance Lyric’, in *New Ways of Looking at Old Texts*, ed. W. Speed Hill (New York, 1993), pp. 209-22, p. 215. Cf. *John Donne, Coterie Poet*, p. xiii, where Marotti disavows the notion of the authorial voice subsumed by contemporary cultural language.

²⁹ Review of *Manuscript, Print, and the English Renaissance Lyric*, in *MP*, 94 (1997), pp. 380-2.

³⁰ *The Divine Poems*, ed. Helen Gardner (1952); *The Elegies and the Songs and Sonnets*, ed. Gardner (1965); *The Satires, Epigrams, and Verse Letters*, ed. W. Milgate (1967); *Ignatius His Conclave*, ed. T. S. Healy (1969); *The Epithalamions, Anniversaries and Epicedes*, ed. Milgate (1978); *Paradoxes and Problems*, ed. Helen Peters (1980); Alan MacColl, ‘The Circulation of Donne’s Poems in Manuscript’, in *John Donne: Essays in Celebration*, ed. A. J. Smith (1972), pp. 28-46.

³¹ Much *Variorum* material is available online at *DigitalDonne: the Online Variorum* (Texas A&M, 2011), <http://digitaldonne.tamu.edu>.

Inscriptions, and Miscellaneous Poems). The *Satires* volume was due to be published in 2011. Conducting a thorough collation of all known surviving witnesses of Donne's verse, Stringer *et al.* have created authoritative stemmas of textual families, set out detailed transmissional histories and provided summaries of all known critical responses to individual works.³² The most recent collection of Donne's poetry was edited by Robin Robbins for the Longmans Annotated English Poets series (2008); this volume is particularly strong on explanatory notes to the poetry, but is less concerned than the *Variorum* with textual provenance.

Other useful resources that have informed my work include the journals *English Manuscript Studies 1100-1700*, *The Library* and *Studies in Bibliography*. Mark Bland's *A Guide to Early Printed Books and Manuscripts* was published as this thesis was being completed. Intended to complement and update Philip Gaskell's *A New Introduction to Bibliography* (Oxford, 1972, rev. 1974), it usefully extends Gaskell's analytical bibliography into the realm of manuscript. In the conclusion to this thesis, I raise questions about the distinction between print and manuscript authorship in the seventeenth century. These have been informed by Wendy Wall's *The Imprint of Gender* (1994), which usefully frames contemporary anxieties about traditionally manuscript texts entering the world of print, with a concentration on gendered writing. A critical field undergoing particular growth at present is the study of manuscript miscellanies, composite volumes that contain a variety of writings, often transcribed in a number of hands. Mary Hobbs showed the research potential of manuscript miscellanies and a number of more recent bibliographers have begun to refine methodologies for these texts.³³ Miscellanies can show how poems were grouped and ordered by collectors, and

³² This complements and extends the collections of criticism compiled by John R. Roberts for the years 1912-2005 (1973-2011), and A. J. Smith for the years 1598-1889 (*John Donne: The Critical Heritage* (1975)). Smith's work was updated by Catherine Phillips for the years 1889-1923 (*John Donne II: The Critical Heritage* (1996)). The Roberts volumes are all available to download at *DigitalDonne*.

³³ Mary Hobbs, 'Early Seventeenth-Century Verse Miscellanies and Their Value for Textual Editors', *EMS*, 1 (1989), pp. 182-210; Hobbs (ed.), *The Stoughton Manuscript: A Manuscript Miscellany of Poems by Henry King and his Circle, circa 1636* (Aldershot, 1990); Hobbs, *Early Seventeenth-Century Verse Miscellany Manuscripts* (Aldershot and Vermont, 1992). Steven W. May has demonstrated the significance of studying manuscript miscellanies for Elizabethan verse in *The Elizabethan Courtier Poets: The Poems and Their Contexts* (Columbia, MI, and London, 1991) and, building on the work of William A. Ringler, Jr., in *Elizabethan Poetry: A Bibliography and First-line Index of English Verse, 1559-1603*, 3

how interpretation often emerged from specific bibliographical features. The Conway Papers survive as an unordered mass of individual papers rather than a single textual entity, and thus present research opportunities and challenges distinct from the miscellany. Primarily, they afford insights into the circulation of verse that was *not* bound into miscellanies.

Critical background: Biographical methodology

Much work on Donne conducted since 1970 has been heavily indebted to R. C. Bald's biography published that year, which was completed by Wesley Milgate after Bald's death.³⁴ In this book, and in *Donne and the Drurys* (1959), Bald uncovered a great deal of documentary evidence, and enabled much new work on both Donne's biography and works. More recent critics, however, have pointed to Bald's sometimes uncritical reliance on Izaak Walton's 1640 biography.³⁵ Walton's procedure was subjected to piercing analysis in David Novarr's *The Making of Walton's Lives* (1958), which casts into doubt a number of Walton's stated facts that Bald later repeated.³⁶ John Carey's *John Donne: Life, Mind and Art* (1981) revolutionised Donne studies by morally challenging the poet's conversion from Catholicism to the Anglican church, and making his supposed guilt about his apostasy the informing principle behind almost all his subsequent life and writings. Written, according to one critic, 'at the expense of' Donne, it portrayed its subject as almost one-dimensionally self-serving and careerist.³⁷ Carey

vols. (London and New York, 2004). More recently, Joshua Eckhardt's *Manuscript Verse Collectors and the Politics of Anti-Courtly Love Poetry* (Oxford, 2009) is representative of a new wave of publications offering innovative approaches to miscellanies. At the time of writing, a special issue of *EMS*, dedicated to miscellanies, was due to be published.

³⁴ For an account of Donne biographies to 1987, see Deborah Aldrich Larson, 'John Donne and Biographical Criticism', *South Central Review*, 4 (1987), pp. 93-102. The most recent biography is John Stubbs's *John Donne: The Reformed Soul* (1996), which received generally favourable reviews but was accused by one critic of being 'horribly written, frequently misleading and [having] nothing new or interesting to say', Mark Ford, 'John Donne, overdone', *Financial Times* (18 August 2006) (accessed online, 13 May 2011). I have not relied on this biography.

³⁵ See Izaak Walton, *The Lives of John Donne, Sir Henry Wotton, George Herbert, Richard Hooker, and Robert Sanderson* (1956).

³⁶ Jessica Martin is more forgiving towards Walton, noting that Novarr 'judges Walton by the evolved standards of a genre which did not exist (which seems hardly fair) and which, in any case, are vexed to the present day.' *Walton's Lives* (Oxford, 2001), p. ix.

³⁷ Edward W. Taylor, review, *RQ*, 36 (1983), pp. 148-151, at p. 149. In the memorable words of Frank Manley, 'The man who emerges in Carey's version is so completely self-seeking as to seem almost innocent, like a cat', 'Review: Two Ghosts', *The Sewanee Review*, 89 (1981), pp. 635-8, at p. 636.

has been criticised for taking assumptions inherited from Bald (many of which derived from Walton), repeating them as facts, and exaggerating their implications. Furthermore, his ‘psychobiographical’ approach to the works – trying to understand Donne’s literary creations through assumptions about his psychological feelings – is at odds with the methodology I have employed here.³⁸ This thesis places documentary evidence at the heart of all its arguments, even if that evidence is itself, to use Donne’s word, ‘misinterpretable’.

Two significant studies have approached Donne through his professional and social contexts. Marotti, whose research greatly informs this thesis, despite the reservations expressed above, investigated Donne’s social (and by extension text-sharing) circles in *John Donne, Coterie Poet* (1986). Marotti’s book analysed Donne’s early work as ‘coterie social transactions’ not ‘literary icons’, examining Donne’s manuscript circulation within the contexts of certain social groups: the Inns of Court, London and the Court, his employment in the Egerton household, and his years of ‘Social Exile’ from 1602 until his ordination. However, as Dennis Flynn has argued, the book ‘depends throughout on the biographical assumptions of Bald and Carey’ in its insistence on Donne’s ‘desperate ambition’.³⁹ Gerald Hammond attacked the argument for being over-determined: to Marotti, he argues, ‘[all] the poetry is a form of social interaction rooted in the desire to please patrons while winking and nodding at his own coterie audience.’⁴⁰ I have tried to avoid using the word ‘coterie’, for reasons that are summarised in the Conclusion to this thesis. In contrast to Marotti, *John Donne’s Professional Lives* (2003), a collection of essays edited by David Colclough, represents one of the most significant reactions to Carey, and is emblematic of the success of the evidence-based approach in challenging received opinion about Donne’s biography.

³⁸ Cf. Janel Mueller’s critique of Edmund Gosse’s ‘overconfidence about reconstructing Donne’s inner life’; ‘Review: Exhuming Donne’s Enigma’ (review of Bald’s biography), *MP*, 69 (1972), pp. 231–49, at p. 232.

³⁹ Dennis Flynn, *John Donne and the Ancient Catholic Nobility* (Bloomington, IN, 1995), p. 198. In fact, as Gerald Hammond notes, Marotti did not actually use Carey’s book, referring instead to his doctoral thesis; review in *MLR*, 84 (1989), pp. 124–6, at p. 124.

⁴⁰ Hammond, review *op. cit.*, p. 124.

Recent editorial work will also provide a firm basis for future biographies by creating a reliable edition of Donne's letters. I. A. Shapiro began this project for Oxford University Press, but died without issue after some six decades' work. His notes are currently on deposit at Bentley University in Waltham, Massachusetts. Thanks to the generosity of the *Letters* editors, M. Thomas Hester, Ernest W. Sullivan, II and Dennis Flynn, this thesis benefits both from material in preparation for their volume and access to the Shapiro Papers themselves. The benefits of the editorial work being done by the *Donne Variorum*, the Oxford *Letters*, and the forthcoming Oxford edition of Donne's *Sermons* (gen. ed. Peter McCullough) can be seen in the *Oxford Handbook of John Donne* (2011), edited by Jeanne Shami, Hester and Flynn, whose influence will be in evidence throughout this thesis.

In 1980, Peter Beal signalled that the Conway Papers warranted 'special attention', particularly with regard to the provenance of Donne's manuscripts.⁴¹ When I began my research in 2007, I was surprised to find that, with some exceptions, the call had not yet been heeded. More than three decades since the *Index* was published, I hope this study goes some way to meeting that challenge.

⁴¹ *Index*, 1.1.247.

Chapter 1

An Introduction to the Conway Family

The Conway family in the seventeenth century produced two secretaries of state, a female philosopher and one of the greatest private book collectors of the era. The family's political influence was felt at local, national and international levels, and their manuscript archive uniquely preserves many significant documents. Yet they have rarely received serious attention from historians. The reputation of Edward, first Viscount Conway, for example, has largely centred around one anecdote. King James, seeing his secretary struggle to decipher Latin letters, joked that Buckingham had given him 'a Lord Treasurer (the Earl of Suffolk) that could not cast accounts; and a Secretary (Lord Conway) that could not write his name'.¹ In fact, there is a great deal of surviving biographical information about the Conways, and an increasing need to account for their role in early modern literary culture.

The three men whose lives form the subject of this chapter came to prominence over a period of about one hundred years, from the mid-sixteenth to the mid-seventeenth century. The family counted among Elizabeth I's foreign army corps; among senior politicians and ambassadors in the courts of James I and Charles I; and among the disenfranchised and dispossessed during the Civil War. They corresponded with the leading military, political and intellectual figures of their day: the Cecils, Devereux and Sidneys; Francis Walsingham, George Villiers and Fulke Greville; Theodore de Mayerne, William Laud and John Selden. The eldest of the three, Sir John Conway, can be associated with contemporary Catholic sympathisers, but his son Edward was a devoted Calvinist.² The youngest of the three, the second Viscount Conway, was warned by one of his preachers that posterity might remember him for having 'more regard to y^e making of a Bolonja saw sage [Bologna sausage], or y^e covering of y^{or} table, or y^e trayning of a horse, then to y^e worship of Almighty God'.³ The Conways owned property at Ragley, Warwickshire, developed estates on plantation land in Ireland and were granted possession of a castle in

¹ GEC, 3.400.

² See WCRO, CR114A/807.

³ SP 16/210/91, William Chambers to Edward Viscount Conway and Killultagh, January 1632.

north Wales. The family's story illustrates many of the political and religious faultlines of early-modern England and Europe.

There is no full-length biographical study of the Conways in this period, although the family receives extensive attention in Marjorie Hope Nicolson's *Conway Letters* (1930; revised by Sarah Hutton, 1992). Nicolson focuses on the late seventeenth century, particularly on Anne Conway (née Finch), the philosopher, and her husband, Edward, first Earl of Conway. Their story effectively begins where this chapter ends. When I started working on the Conways the principal biographical resources were the *ODNB*'s useful, brief accounts of each man's life. After the research for this chapter was completed, but before I began writing, the History of Parliament Trust published their work on the years 1624-9, including entries for the first and second viscounts. These collect much historical information about each man, with a particular concentration on their work in parliament. In this chapter, I will refer to the original sources, with due acknowledgement here to the History of Parliament Trust volume (henceforth *HPT*).

I build on the work of the *HPT* and *ODNB* by describing the development of the family's estates and power-base between *c.*1560 and *c.*1660, introducing new information about finances, friends and family. This chapter represents the most complete account of the family published to date, but does not obviate the need for a detailed and focused biography of the Conways, in the mould of Vivienne Larminie's study of the Newdigates or Adrian Tinniswood's account of the Verney family.⁴ Both Edwards feature in standard resources for the period, such as the correspondence of Dudley Carleton and John Chamberlain, and in Clarendon's *History of the Civil Wars*. They are frequently cited by modern historians such as Lawrence Stone, Kevin Sharpe and Conrad Russell, whose accounts underpin my understanding of the period, but the family is rarely analysed at length.⁵ The work of Jacqueline Eales on the Harleys, Ann Hughes on Civil War Warwickshire, Ralph Houlbrooke on families and Florence Evans on secretaries of state have all proved

⁴ Vivienne Larminie, *Wealth, Kinship and Culture* (Woodbridge, 1995), Adrian Tinniswood, *The Verneys* (2007).

⁵ Lawrence Stone, *The Crisis of the Aristocracy* (Oxford, 1965) and *Family and Fortune* (Oxford, 1973); Kevin Sharpe, *The Personal Rule of Charles I* (1992); Conrad Russell, *Unrevolutionary England 1603-1642* (London and Ronceverte, WV, 1990).

fundamentally instructive.⁶ Brenda Collins has shared with me findings from her work on seventeenth-century Ulster.⁷ Articles about the Conways in Ireland in the *Lisburn Historical Society Journal* have helped my thinking at several points.⁸ All other sources are credited directly in the text.

The Conway family: essential biographical information

An amateur historian, William Kerr, has traced the Conway family's background to Rollo, an exiled Norseman whose raids on the Seine valley compelled Charles the Simple to pay him to settle in Rouen.⁹ Burke states that the Conway family's origins in England can be traced back to 'Sir William Conias ... one of the companions in arms of the Conqueror'.¹⁰ However, we need not return to the Vikings or even 1066 to establish the social status of this family. Sir Hugh Conway (dates unknown), master of the wardrobe to Henry VII, was knighted when the king's consort, Elizabeth of York, was crowned in November 1487.¹¹ His grandson, another Sir Hugh (dates unknown), was treasurer of Calais, and this Sir Hugh's second son, Edward (c.1485-1546), was a gentleman usher to Henry VIII. Edward was succeeded by his son, Sir John Conway (1510-53), who was made a knight banneret after the Scottish expedition in Edward VI's first year. Sir John married Katherine,

⁶ Jacqueline Eales, *Puritans and Roundheads* (Cambridge, 1990); Ann Hughes, *Politics, Society and Civil War in Warwickshire, 1620-1660* (Cambridge, 1987); Ralph A. Houlbrooke, *The English Family 1450-1700* (London and New York, 1984); Florence M. Grier Evans, *The Principal Secretary of State* (Manchester, 1929).

⁷ 'Sources for a seventeenth-century Ulster estate: the Hastings (Irish) Papers in the Huntington Library, California', *Familia*, 24 (2008) pp. 145-54; 'The Conway Estate as an Example of Seventeenth-Century "English" Building Styles in Ulster', in *The theatre of the empire: the architecture of Britain and her colonies in the seventeenth century*, ed. Olivia Horsfall Turner (forthcoming).

⁸ I have always checked any facts found in this journal, which is sometimes unreliable. It seems unlikely, for example, that 'Fluke' Conway had 'fallen fowl of the law', as J. F. Burns asserts in 'Lisburn's Castle and Cathedral', *LHSJ*, 5 (1984). There are many palaeographical errors in William Kerr's 'The Last Will and Testament of Edward, 1st Viscount Conway and Killultagh (1564-1631)', *LHSJ*, 6 (1986-7). Raymond Gillespie's 'George Rawdon's Lisburn', *LHSJ*, 8 (1991), has useful information about Rawdon's legacy to the town. Dennis Kennedy's review of *The Greatest Collector*, by Donald Mallett (*LHSJ*, 2 (1979)) has interesting notes on Lisburn streets that testify to the family's enduring influence. Brian Mackey, 'The market house and assembly rooms', *LHSJ*, 6 (1986-7), presents information about the estate at Killultagh. All volumes are available online at www.lisburn.com/books/historical_society/historicalsociety.html (accessed 25 January 2011), which does not give page numbers.

⁹ William Kerr, 'The Viking Origins of the Viscounts Conway and Killultagh', *LHSJ*, 9 (1995).

¹⁰ John Burke and John Bernard Burke (eds.), *A Genealogical and Heraldic History of the Extinct and Dormant Baronetcies of England, Ireland, and Scotland* (1844), p. 127. See also GEC, 3.400-3. WCRO, CR114A/810 (c.1870), also traces the Conway lineage back to Sir William Conias.

¹¹ Sir Bernard Burke, *A Genealogical History of the Dormant, Abeyant, Forfeited, and Extinct Peerages of the British Empire* (1883 [facsimile edition, 1962]), p. 132. W. A. Shaw, *The Knights of England*, 2 vols. (1971 [1906]), 1.142.

daughter of Sir Ralph Verney, and was in turn succeeded by his son, another Sir John Conway (1535-1603).¹²

This is where my interest in the Conway family properly begins. Sir John Conway's early years are sparsely documented. He was knighted in 1559, on Elizabeth's coronation. She gave him a licence to go abroad 'about the Queens affairs' for two years in 1573, though we do not know where, or if, he travelled.¹³ In 1578, Lodovic Greville, a notorious ruffian, attempted to murder Conway in London, though Grevil's motives are unclear.¹⁴ In 1583 Conway was implicated in the plot of the mentally unstable Catholic John Somerville (1560-83) to assassinate the queen, after the elder Sir Henry Goodere (1534-95) 'talk[ed] romance to him' about the exiled Mary.¹⁵ Conway was not charged after his interrogation, and two years later joined the Earl of Leicester's expedition to the Netherlands. In 1586 he was placed in charge of Middleburg and Leicester's artillery, serving alongside the Sidneys, and corresponding directly with Sir Robert.¹⁶ Between December 1586 and 1590, he served as governor of Ostend, facing down a mutiny in 1588.¹⁷ His salary was supplemented by the States General, who saw him as an important ally. Conway returned to England in 1590, and did not hold any major administrative posts thereafter, dying on 14 October

¹² Burke, *Extinct Peerages*, pp. 127-8.

¹³ BL, Cotton MS Galba D.III, fol. 56, Robert Sidney to Sir John Conway, 6 February 1588.

¹⁴ John Roche Dasent, *Acts of the Privy Council of England, 1542-[June 1631]*, vol. 11: 1578-1580 (1974 [1895]), p. 67. Document reference PC 2/12, fol. 419, 9 March 1578. Cf. Strype's *Annals*, 2.2.207. Cited in C. C. Stopes, *Shakespeare's Warwickshire Contemporaries* (Stratford-upon-Avon, 1897), p. 60. Greville was pressed to death for another crime on 14 November 1589. The incident does not seem related to the organised disturbances of the late Tudor period discussed by Ian W. Archer, in *The Pursuit of Stability* (Cambridge, 1991), especially pp. 204-56. Greville's surname is given as 'Grevil' in Sir John Conway's *ODNB* entry, but it seems very likely he was related to the well-known Grevilles.

¹⁵ Stopes, p. 43. Cf. John D. Cox, 'Local References in 3 Henry VI', *SQ*, 51 (2000), pp. 340-52, esp. pp. 344-7; Randall Martin, 'Rehabilitating John Somerville in 3 Henry VI', *SQ*, 51 (2000), pp. 332-40; William Wizeman, 'John Somerville' and 'Edward Arden', *ODNB*. For original documentary evidence, see SP 12/163/27 and SP 12/163/28 (both 31 October 1583), and SP 12/163/53 (7 November 1583).

¹⁶ Robert Sidney to Sir John Conway, Cotton MS Galba D.III, fol. 56, 6 February 1588. Cf. SP 84/21, fol. 146, Sir John Conway to Burghley, 11 February 1588, and SP 84/36, fol. 126, an autograph letter from Essex to Robert Sidney (among the Conway Papers), 20 February 1590; SP 84/57, fol. 67, Elizabeth to the States General, Robert Sidney, Edward Conway and others, 28 August 1598. No Conway is mentioned in Katherine Duncan-Jones, *Sir Philip Sidney: Courtier Poet* (1991), Millicent V. Hay, *The Life of Robert Sidney Earl of Leicester (1563-1626)* (London and Toronto, 1984), F. G. Oosterhoff, *Leicester and the Netherlands 1586-1587* (Utrecht, 1988), James M. Osborn, *Young Philip Sidney 1572-1577* (1972) or Alan Stewart, *Philip Sidney: A Double Life* (2000).

¹⁷ Fulke Greville was sent to help quell the uprising. Ronald A. Rebholz, *The Life of Fulke Greville First Lord Brooke* (Oxford, 1971), p. 80. Cf. G. C. Cruikshank, *Elizabeth's Army* (Oxford, 1966), p. 169; SP 84/28, fol. 474 (20 November 1588).

1603.¹⁸ He was not an MP, and should not be confused with any of the John Conways of Rhuddlan and Botryddan, Flintshire, distant Welsh kinsmen.¹⁹

Sir John Conway married Helen (or Ellen, or Eleanor) Greville (*d.*1588), daughter of Sir Fulke Greville (*d.*1560) of Beauchamp's Court, Warwickshire, and his wife Elizabeth, née Willoughby. Helen's brother was Sir Fulke Greville (1536-1606), father of the more famous Fulke Greville (1554-1628), later first Baron Brooke of Beauchamp's Court.²⁰ Sir John Conway was therefore the uncle by marriage of Sir Philip Sidney's friend. There are intimations that Conway was not a kind man, for his eldest surviving child, Edward, ran away from home, and later claimed he never received anything from his father.²¹ However, Sir John's correspondence with Elizabeth Bourne (which survives in BL, Add. MS 23,212) shows that he was capable of sensitivity. Bourne's husband Anthony was a serial adulterer who repeatedly beat and threatened his wife.²² John Conway became involved in the Bourne marriage dispute around 1577, and tried to marry his sons to the Bournes' two daughters, to whom he had become guardian. Because Anthony Bourne squandered much of his estate, reducing the available dowry, John Conway did not marry Edward into the Bournes, but did arrange the union of his second son, Fulke, and Amy, the elder Bourne daughter, 'apparently without consulting her parents'.²³

Sir John Conway's eldest surviving son, Edward, later the first Viscount Conway, is a principal focus of this thesis. The most detailed personal account of him was made by Sir

¹⁸ SP 14/4/18 (15 October 1603).

¹⁹ S. T. Bindoff, *The House of Commons 1509-1558*, 3 vols. (1982), 1.688-89; P. W. Hasler, *The House of Commons 1558-1603*, 3 vols. (1981), 1.643; 'Conway or Conwy family, of Botryddan, Flints.', *Welsh Biography Online*, <http://yba.llgc.org.uk/en/index.html> (National Library of Wales, 2007; accessed 23 February 2011).

²⁰ One online genealogy site claims that Lodovic Grevil was another of her brothers, but I have not been able to substantiate this assertion. <http://gen.cookancestry.com/getperson.php?personID=I8652&tree=1> (accessed 10 May 2011).

²¹ Sir John Oglander, *A Royalist's Notebook*, ed. Francis Bamford (1936), p. 141.

²² Linda A. Pollock, 'Anger and the Negotiation of Relationships in Early Modern England', *HJ*, 47 (2004), pp. 567-90, at p. 578.

²³ *HPT*, 3.640. For more on the Bourne controversy, see James Daybell, 'Elizabeth Bourne (fl. 1570s-1580s): a New Elizabethan Woman Poet', *NQ*, 52 (2005), pp. 176-8, at p. 176, and 'Interpreting letters and reading script: evidence for female education and literacy in Tudor England', *History of Education*, 34 (2005), pp. 695-715.

John Oglander of the Isle of Wight, who seems to have spent many a long evening in the mid-1620s listening to Conway relate the same stories time and again:

Concerning his person he was old, unwieldy and very sickly, neither fit for employment or command. Certainly he had been a brave fellow, as now a courtier: he had excellent gifts of nature, but no art; spoke very well, with many words and compliments: affable and courteous to all ...

He delivered his mind in very good words and would indite very well, only it was too flattering and complimentary. That which made him so ill beloved was that he would tender his service to all and deny no man a courtesy or favour in words, but in deeds he could not perform it. Therein was his greatest imperfection, as being willing to deny none and unable to pleasure all.

Such froth and compliments he would to all, but most especially to the feminine sex ... and he astonished my wife and daughters with his compliments: yea, and my servants also, for my wife's gentlewoman lost not her share.

He was a good father and husband, making very much of his wife and children. Although he was a very verbose man, yet he had some qualities that were good. He would use all men with respect and he was an excellent housekeeper, never thinking that he had meat enough at his table[.]²⁴

Little is known about the 'wild' early life of the elder Edward Conway, but by 1593 he had married Dorothy Tracy (1563-1612), widow of Edward Bray of Great Barrington, Gloucestershire.²⁵ Dorothy was daughter of Sir John Tracy of Toddington, Gloucestershire, and his wife Anne Throckmorton, so the union represented a significant alliance with two important local families.²⁶ Conway probably joined the English army in the Netherlands in his teens, and could therefore have served alongside both Sidney brothers in the Leicester campaigns of the early to mid-1580s. Having conveyed messages between England and Bergen-op-Zoom in 1587, he commanded his father's garrison in Ostend by 1589, and was wounded in Dunkirk in 1590. In 1591 he was briefly in England, and in 1594 served in France, before moving to the Brill, one of the Cautionary Towns.²⁷

²⁴ Oglander, pp. 25, 142-3. Cf. the weary-sounding note on p. 142: 'This tale he hath often told to me.' Some of Oglander's letters to the elder Edward Conway survive among the Conway Papers; see e.g. SP 16/521/174, 26 September 1625.

²⁵ Oglander, p. 141.

²⁶ William Dugdale, *Antiquities of Warwickshire* (1730; first edn. 1656), p. 850, McClure, *Chamberlain*, 1.429.

²⁷ *HPT*, 3.640.

In 1596, Conway was knighted by Essex for his role in the Cadiz expedition. He subsequently cultivated Essex as a patron, gaining praise but not the high reward he sought: Essex deemed that ‘Of his quality there is not any man more valiant or sufficient for this kind of service.’²⁸ On Conway’s return to the Brill he became lieutenant-governor, but despite repeated attempts to become governor outright, he was never appointed to the top job, even though that post’s holder, Sir Francis Vere, mostly lived away from the garrison. During this period, Conway received newsletters from several men including ‘Johan Megan’ and ‘T Uberchen’, though I have not been able to identify either man.²⁹ Conway returned to England for short periods in January 1603,³⁰ in autumn 1604,³¹ and in late 1605, when he took lodgings in Silver Street, a Calvinist Huguenot area.³² After Essex’s fall, Conway became a client of Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury, petitioning him for increased supplies and troops. Cecil, however, did not intervene to stop Conway being passed over for promotion once again in 1607 when Francis Vere died and his brother, Horace, was appointed the new governor.³³ Sir Horace Vere became Conway’s brother-in-law, marrying Mary, née Tracy, sister of Conway’s wife Dorothy, in November 1607.³⁴ Such a close association with the highly Calvinist Veres, and service at the forefront of the battle against the Catholic threat to northern Europe, engrained Conway’s own Protestant values.

Conway became keen to gain high-profile reward at this time, ‘whereby the world may take notice that he was not for his unworthiness put by [i.e. passed over for] the government of

²⁸ *HMC Salisbury* (9), 6.570, notes by Essex of ‘leaders of horse fit to be employed’, 1596? Conway’s troops were responsible for defending the walls surrounding Cadiz; Clements R. Markham, *The Fighting Veres* (1888), p. 232. For Conway and Essex, see e.g. *HMC Salisbury* (9), 7.211-12, Sir Francis Vere to Essex, 25 May 1597; *ibid.*, 8.138, Conway to Essex, 20 April 1598; *ibid.*, 8.348, Edward Conway to Essex, 15 September 1598. In January 1599 the despondent Conway told Essex that ‘the Brill opens upon me like my grave’, *ibid.*, 9.23-4, Conway to Essex, 12 January 1599.

²⁹ Now part of the Coke Papers. See e.g. BL, Add. MS 69,920.

³⁰ SP 12/287/7, John Chamberlain to Sir Ralph Winwood, 17 January 1603.

³¹ *HMC Salisbury* (9), 16.307-8, Sir Francis Vere to Viscount Cranborne, 15 September 1604.

³² *Ibid.*, 17.94, Sir Francis Vere to the Earl of Salisbury, 15 December 1605. *HMC Cowper* (23), 1.57, newsletters from Rome, Venice, Cologne (in French?) to ‘be delivered to Sir Edward Conway, Knight, in Silver Street, London’, 28 September 1605 and 31 March 1606. For more on this street, especially Shakespeare’s residence there, see Charles Nicholl, *The Lodger* (2007), *passim*.

³³ Salisbury to Winwood, 18 September 1609, *Memorials of Affairs of State ... Collected (chiefly) from the Original Papers of ... Sir Ralph Winwood*, ed. Edmund Sawyer, 3 vols. (1725), 3.70. Cf. other letters about the negotiations between Vere and Conway, *ibid.* 3.77, 80, 81-4, 129-30.

³⁴ Jacqueline Eales, ‘Mary, Lady Vere’, and D. J. B. Trim, ‘Horace Vere, Baron Vere of Tilbury’, *ODNB*.

... Brill'.³⁵ Rumours that he would be next ambassador to Brussels came to nothing (Jean Beaulieu reported that Conway was 'rather averse from the employment').³⁶ Conway did participate in Prince Henry's Barriers of 1610, and over the next few years sought to cultivate the prince (see Chapter 2, pp. 55-6), but again without significant reward. Conway's relationship with Salisbury proved more useful: Conway became MP for Penryn, Cornwall, in February 1610, in time for the fourth session of the 1604 Parliament, where he

was frequently seen in Salisbury's company, prompting fresh speculation that he was being groomed for an embassy, though the closest he came to such an appointment was an invitation in May [1610] to meet envoys to London from the United Provinces.³⁷

In late 1611 Conway assisted John Tradescant, transporting a shipment of rare plants from the Low Countries back to England for Salisbury.³⁸ The next few years brought professional disasters, however, with the deaths of Salisbury and Henry within six months. Conway also suffered great personal misfortune. Over Christmas 1612 he was 'run through the body by a madman with a sword', as Oglander relates.³⁹ Conway's wife wrote to him on 23 January 1613 to implore, 'let not the fellow that hurt you come forth of prison'.⁴⁰ Conway survived, but Dorothy died the following month, of 'a long languishing sicknes'.⁴¹ In 1615 Conway married Katherine, née Hueriblock or Hambler, who had been born in Ghent and was the widow of a London grocer, John West. Conway's uncle Francis Conyers reported she was 'in years and I hope past childe bearing'; he added: 'they saye she is lame ... [and] worth 5 or 6000^{li}'.⁴²

³⁵ *HMC Downshire (75)*, 2.126; cf. Winwood, *Memorials*, 3.70 and 84.

³⁶ *HMC Downshire (75)*, 2.225, Beaulieu to Trumbull, 25 January 1610.

³⁷ *HPT*, 3.641.

³⁸ Jennifer Potter, *Strange Blooms* (2006), p. 37.

³⁹ Oglander, p. 145.

⁴⁰ BL, Add. MS 23,213, fol. 3v.

⁴¹ McClure, *Chamberlain*, 1.432. Dorothy wrote to her husband detailing her painful illness on 14 and 23 January 1613, see BL, Add. MS 23,213, fols. 1 and 3. One of her correspondents during her illness was Sir Thomas Dutton, a Low Countries captain and stepfather of Sir Thomas Browne (see R. H. Robbins, 'Sir Thomas Browne', *ODNB*).

⁴² SP 14/76/45, Graye Conyers to his father Francis Conyers, 13 March 1614. Conway arranged for her naturalisation in 1626 (SP 16/31/92, [17 July?] 1626).

At this point, with his two principal patrons dead, and living away from the Court, Conway's 'public career seemed to be drawing to a close'.⁴³ Awarded just £500 when the Cautionary Towns were sold back to the United Provinces in 1616, after three decades of military service, he was understandably aggrieved.⁴⁴ In 1617, Conway and William Byrd or Bird (c.1561-1624), Master in Chancery, were sent to inspect the civic and military infrastructures of Jersey, but Conway was not satisfied by such scraps of administrative service.⁴⁵ He had made a prescient tactical judgment not noted by previous biographers, which led almost directly to his rise to power over the next decade. Having been forced to forsake his command of the Brill in 1616, Conway also decided to give up his company of soldiers, and chose as their new commander a relatively unknown man, Alexander Brett.⁴⁶ Brett was a cousin of George Villiers, later the all-powerful Duke of Buckingham, who remembered the kindness done to his kinsman, and rewarded Conway extensively.⁴⁷

The significant transition from soldier to statesman occurred on the eve of the Thirty Years War, as Ambrogio Spinola's forces circled the lands of Frederick of Bohemia, husband of James I's daughter Elizabeth and newly crowned Elector Palatine. Conway's first major administrative appointment was an embassy to Bohemia in summer 1620, with Sir Richard Weston (later Earl of Portland), who would take over the role of Chancellor of the Exchequer from Fulke Greville on their return.⁴⁸ Conway and Weston's fruitless task was 'to confirm English neutrality and avert an invasion of the Palatinate by Catholic forces'.⁴⁹ According to one near-contemporary, Weston was 'a man of haughty spirit', Conway

⁴³ *HPT*, 3.641.

⁴⁴ Carleton told Chamberlain on 24 May 1616 that Conway was disappointed not to be awarded a garrison, having sent his brother Fulke to solicit for him, SP 84/72, fols. 277-8. *Carleton to Chamberlain*, p. 200.

⁴⁵ Alan Davidson, 'William Byrd (Bird)', *HPT*, 3.377.

⁴⁶ Oglander, p. 142. Brett does not have an *ODNB* entry, but cf. Roger Lockyer, *Buckingham* (London and New York, 1984), pp. 274, 375, 382, 401. A genealogy including the Bretts, but not Alexander, appears on pp. 72-3: the family connection was through Buckingham's maternal aunt, Anne Beaumont, who married James Brett of Hoby, Leicester. Conway's *HPT* biographer is aware of the Oglander source, but does not highlight this consideration.

⁴⁷ Oglander provides the only source for this argument, but given his intimate portrait of Conway, he is probably reliable.

⁴⁸ A list of jewels sent to Conway from his wife (1 July 1620), probably for wearing on the embassy, survives in BL, Add. MS 23,213, fol. 5, with the sage advice 'drink not to much Wine for feare of a Bornin aygoe' (a burning ague). Cf. Brian Quintrell, 'Richard Weston', *ODNB*.

⁴⁹ *HPT*, 3.642. Vere and Conway were later appointed to a committee to consider ways of recovering the Palatinate, BL, Add. MS 46,188, fol. 11.

a man of a grosser temper ... These two were suited for the employment, happily upon design; Weston being a kind of Papist, and Conway a Protestant, the better to close up the breach between the Emperor, and the King of Bohemia[.]⁵⁰

During this embassy Conway developed a lasting friendship with Elizabeth of Bohemia, and corresponded with Sir Henry Wotton.⁵¹ In July 1621 he became MP for Evesham, joined the Privy Council in June 1622, and in early 1623 was appointed Secretary of State.⁵² According to Florence M. Grier Evans, although Conway was ‘an honest and able soldier ... he was utterly without any training either in the details of secretarial business of statescraft generally’.⁵³ Why was this man, socially illiterate by courtly standards, appointed Secretary of State? Wotton reasonably conjectured that Buckingham ‘wanted then for his own ends a martial secretary’,⁵⁴ while the Venetian ambassador believed the Dutch had paid Buckingham so that their interests might best be represented.⁵⁵ Chamberlain was among the cynics:

the k. recommending him to the LLs. for his birth for his souldierie for his Languages for his sufficiencie and for his honestie, others adde for his courtship and curtesie in seeking to fasten the title of excellencie on the L marquis.⁵⁶

Excellency was a title normally afforded to princes, but Conway, a compulsive flatterer, applied it to his patron. Conway’s canny kindness to Alexander Brett may have brought him to Buckingham’s attention, but doubtless his military expertise was also considered useful. He was soon given £700 to dispense to intelligence sources, and awarded honorary admission to Gray’s Inn in 1624.⁵⁷

⁵⁰ Arthur Wilson, *The History of Great Britain* (1653), p. 133.

⁵¹ Cf. *Reliquiae Wottonianae* (1651, 1654, 1672 and 1685 edns.), which reprints their letters, and *The Life and Letters of Sir Henry Wotton*, ed. Logan Pearsall Smith, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1907), 2.195.

⁵² Conway is, however, not mentioned in Sir Robert Naunton, *Fragmenta Regalia*, ed. John S. Cerovski (1985).

⁵³ Evans, p. 79.

⁵⁴ Wotton to Lord Treasurer Weston, undated [but after 23 July, 1628], quoted in Smith, *Wotton*, 2.335.

⁵⁵ ‘He has the reputation of an honest man, who knows more about the sword than the pen. He had a command in the Dutch wars, and is considered very friendly to them ... The favourite obtained the office for him, money having been the inducement, which the Dutch are supposed to have provided.’ Alvise Valeresso to the Doge and Senate, 3 February 1623, *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, vol. 17 (1621-1623), ed. Allen B. Hinds (1911), p. 557.

⁵⁶ SP 14/137/27, Chamberlain to Carleton, 25 January 1623.

⁵⁷ SP 14/137/31, 27 January 1623; Joseph Foster, *The Register of Admissions to Gray’s Inn, 1521-1889* (1889), p. 174. There is no mention of Conway in Reginald J. Fletcher (ed.), *The Pension Book of Gray’s Inn 1569-1669* (1901).

During the Spanish Match negotiations in the early 1620s, Conway openly demonstrated his loyalty to Buckingham, despite his known abhorrence of international Catholic appeasement; privately, his activities may have been considerably less loyal, a question I explore in Chapter 2 (pp. 63-74). When the marriage negotiations were called off, Conway led the campaign for military action, joining the committee on foreign affairs in November 1623.⁵⁸ He was also responsible in part for the attacks on the Earl of Bristol on the latter's return from Spain, an episode that does Conway little credit. When Bristol tried to impeach Conway and Buckingham in 1626, both men ultimately escaped censure. Conway's Protestantism and deep distrust of Spanish/Catholic intentions were always driving forces behind his policies, though he clearly took national security seriously too, telling Johann Joachim von Rusdorf in 1624 'that England had no other interest in Germany apart from the Palatinate, it does not matter to them whether all Germany is set in flames, provided that they might have the Palatinate ... if we lose the Palatinate first, next we will lose the Low Countries, then Ireland, and finally ourselves'.⁵⁹ The position he held was Protestant, but his reasoning was bluntly pragmatic.

In December 1624 Conway was appointed vice-admiral of Hampshire and captain of the Isle of Wight, where he became acquainted with Sir John Oglander.⁶⁰ Residents of the Isle of Wight would never forgive him for allowing violent Scottish troops to be billeted among them, an imposition which led to 'murders, rapes, robberies, burglaries, getting of [seventy known] bastards and almost the undoing of the whole Island'.⁶¹ Conway was closely involved in conducting arrangements for Prince Charles's marriage to Henrietta Maria of France, and became 'indispensable to Buckingham and Charles, who were now effectively running affairs'.⁶² By 1625 Chamberlain noted 'we talke of a selected or cabinet counsaile

⁵⁸ *HPT*, 3.643.

⁵⁹ Pursell, *The Winter King*, p. 226.

⁶⁰ However, there is no mention of him in Monson's *Naval Tracts*. M. Oppenheim (ed.), *The Naval Tracts of Sir William Monson*, 5 vols. (1902). Cf. R. G. Marsden, 'The Vice-Admirals of the Coast', *EHR*, 22 (1907), pp. 468-477, at p. 744.

⁶¹ Oglander, p. 45.

⁶² *HPT*, 3.645.

wherto none are admitted but the D. of Buck: the Lord Treasurer L Chamberlain L Brooke and the L. Conway.⁶³

In March 1625 Conway was finally rewarded with a Barony, to which in May was added the Lord Lieutenancy of Hampshire.⁶⁴ On 18 May he was granted an annual fee of £100 for life.⁶⁵ Most important, financially, was his award in October 1625 of a £2000 annual pension from the Court of Wards, for a period of 21 years, backdated to 25 March the same year.⁶⁶ On 15 March 1627 Conway became Viscount Killultagh of Killultagh, county Antrim, and on 26 June Viscount Conway of Conway Castle, Caernarvonshire – an acknowledgement of his Welsh (Conwy) ancestry.⁶⁷ ‘[Y]ou haue gotten the maddest new name, that can be,’ exclaimed the Queen of Bohemia, commenting on the Killultagh title, ‘it will spoile anie good mouth to pronounce it right, but in earnest I wish you all happiness with it’.⁶⁸ Robert Dixon noted that despite the addition of the Irish title, Conway was likely to remain ‘Viscount Conway’, as ‘his Lady could not relish the other title’.⁶⁹ Conway was allowed to benefit from two nominations to the peerage – that is, to collect money from people in return for their elevation.⁷⁰ By the time of his death, he commanded a combined salary of around £3,300, plus money from his estates.⁷¹

By April 1627, rumours were circulating about Conway’s retirement, and would continue at least until 1629.⁷² Clarendon notes that, after Buckingham’s assassination, Conway (for

⁶³ SP 16/1/80, Chamberlain to Carleton, 23 April 1625. The *Calendar of State Papers* entry for this manuscript erroneously reads ‘a selected of Cabinet Council’.

⁶⁴ For the letters-patent creating him Baron, see WCRO, CR114A/261.

⁶⁵ From *CSPD, Charles I (1625, 1626)*, ed. John Bruce (1858), p. 575.

⁶⁶ SP 16/521/54, Letters Patent addressed to the Exchequer and Court of Wards, 23 May 1625. The grant was renewed on 14 October 1626.

⁶⁷ Letters patent of grant of Conway Castle, co. Caernarvon, WCRO, CR114A/263; Letters patent of creation as Viscount Conway of Conway Castle, WCRO, CR114A/262.

⁶⁸ SP 81/34, fols. 193-4, addressed ‘To the Lord Killoultagh’, 1 June 1627. Also cited in Mary Anne Everett Green, *Elizabeth, Electress Palatine and Queen of Bohemia* (1919), p. 260, and Nicolson, p. 7. My thanks to Nadine Akkerman for allowing me advance access to her work in progress for *The Correspondence of Elizabeth Stuart, Queen of Bohemia*, 3 vols. (OUP).

⁶⁹ *HMC Buccleuch and Queensberry (45)*, 3.318-19, Robert Dixon to Lord Mountagu of Boughton, 4 July 1627.

⁷⁰ Lawrence Stone, *The Crisis of the Aristocracy 1558-1641* (Oxford, 1965), p. 445.

⁷¹ By means of comparison, the average annual total income of a member of the gentry in 1640, a decade after his death, was between £1,000 and £1,500, according to Eales, *Harleys*, p. 33.

⁷² *HMC Skrine (16)*, Amerigo Salvetti to the Grand Duke at Florence, 2 April 1627; *HMC Buccleuch and Queensberry (45)*, 3.345, Robert Dixon to Lord Mountagu, 12 November 1629.

reasons of ‘age and incapacity’) ‘was at last removed from the Secretary’s office which he had exercised for many years with notable insufficiency’.⁷³ Nevertheless, Conway became Lord President of the Council in December 1628, although the illnesses that plagued him throughout his life caught up with him two years after this appointment. Aged 44 he had had to return to England from the Brill to recover his health after one bout of illness in December 1605,⁷⁴ and was to succumb to ‘a burning ague’ in the Cautionary Town seven years later.⁷⁵ In November 1617 Conway was ill again, perhaps seriously.⁷⁶ As he passed into his sixties the illnesses became more frequent and dangerous. In the early 1620s he was treated by Sir Theodore de Mayerne, whose casebooks record that Conway suffered from asthma, oedema and scurvy, and that his old stab wound still troubled him.⁷⁷ In August 1623, Conway was unwell in Beaulieu, Dorset, and twice in 1625, in November and July, he was excused attendance at the House of Lords because he was ‘in a course of phisicke’.⁷⁸ Conway’s health regularly interfered with his administrative duties, as in early March 1626, when he was too sick to attend parliament, or the committees on which he sat.⁷⁹ When he fell ill again in May 1627 it was to last almost a month: the King excused his secretary’s attendance on the Isle of Wight, since Conway’s health ‘by an extraord.^{ry} motion might bee greatly hazarded’.⁸⁰

Conway died in St. Martin’s Lane on 3 January 1631, and was buried in Arrow, Warwickshire. His sister Katherine, Lady Hunckes, received the corpse in the lower room of her house, and Fulke Greville, Lord Brooke, John Savage and Sir Robert Lee were

⁷³ Edward, Earl of Clarendon, *The History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in England*, ed. W. Dunn Macray, 6 vols. (Oxford, 1888), 1.141.

⁷⁴ *HMC Salisbury* (9), 17.553-4, Sir Francis Vere to the Earl of Salisbury, 15 December 1605.

⁷⁵ *HMC De L’Isle and Dudley* (77), 5.63, Sir John Throckmorton to Viscount Lisle, 28 September 1612.

⁷⁶ SP 15/41/59, Jean Herault, bailiff of Jersey, to Conway, [November?] 1617.

⁷⁷ BL, Sloane 2067, fol. 63r, 12 January 1624, ‘Asthmaticus. In hydropem pronus. Scorbuticus ... vir militaris olim vulnae [vulnum?] magnum lato ense accepit.’ Cf. *ibid.*, fol. 120v, c. July 1624: ‘Asthmaticus hydropi obnoxius’. These are listed in Brian Nance, *Turquet de Mayerne as Baroque Physician* (Amsterdam and New York, 2001), but not Hugh Trevor-Roper, *Europe’s Physician* (New Haven, CT, and London, 2006). Cf. BL, Harl. 1454, a set of apothecary’s accounts including an entry for Conway. My thanks to Arnold Hunt for directing me to both sources.

⁷⁸ SP 16/4/10, Sir Thomas Crewe, Speaker, to Conway, [6 July ?] 1625.

⁷⁹ SP 14/214/14B, Conway to Sir Heneage Finch, 3 March 1626.

⁸⁰ SP 16/67/64, Conway to Nicholas, 19 June 1627.

chosen to ‘meet the corps at hunyborne [Honeyborn]’, a hamlet about six miles south of Arrow.⁸¹ One source records that

when this Lord Conway was upon his death Bed a Lady of great Will who was turn’d papist who was y^e widow of a near Relation of his Lordships She very lustilly & earnestly pressed upon him concerning his Religion whereupon his Lordship strengthened himself and made a full profession of his final steadfastness in y^e Reformed protestant Religion, caused his servants to convey y^e Lady out of his house and commanded them not to suffer any of that Religion to come to him.⁸²

This anecdote may be apocryphal, as I have found nothing to corroborate it, but certainly it accords with other known facts about Conway’s religious opinions, which, unlike his father’s, are in little doubt. A soldier who saw his role as defending northern Europe against Catholic forces, Conway opposed James’s plans to forge marital links for his children with popish princes, and advised Henry directly to reject any proposals to marry a Spanish princess.⁸³ He was linked by marriage to the Veres, staunch Calvinists, and viewed the growth of Arminianism in the United Provinces ‘with foreboding’.⁸⁴ Thomas Taylor – initially a moderate Puritan, later ‘an iron pillar and a brazen wall against Popery and Arminianisme’ and vigorous opponent of separatism and antinomianism⁸⁵ – served as Conway’s chaplain for a time, and later dedicated his treatise *The Progress of Saints* (1630), to Sir Robert Harley, Conway’s son-in-law.⁸⁶ John Preston, Charles I’s personal chaplain, had been introduced to Conway by his brother Sir Fulke, who gave Preston an annual pension of £50. Conway not only supported Preston at every opportunity, but went out of his way to maintain the appointment of the Puritan John Davenport to the living of St Stephen’s, Coleman Street, even against the king’s wishes.⁸⁷ Thomas Case was minister of

⁸¹ SP 16/184/14, Thomas Egiock to Sir Giles Bray or Edward Reed at Lady Conway’s house in St. Martin’s Lane, 4 February 1631.

⁸² WCRO, CR114A/807, fol. 2r. This document claims to be a transcription of a folio in BL, Harl. MS 7187, which I have not been able to identify. The correct shelfmark is not 7817 or 7178.

⁸³ BL, Harl. MS 7002, fol. 209v.

⁸⁴ *HPT*, 3.641.

⁸⁵ ‘The life of Dr. Taylor’, *The works of Dr. Thom. Taylor* (1653), sig. B3r, cited J. Sears McGee, ‘Thomas Taylor’, *ODNB*.

⁸⁶ McGee, *op. cit.*

⁸⁷ SP 14/173/43 (14 October 1624), SP 14/173/47 (15 October), Bishop of London to Conway, and Conway’s reply. Cf. Irvonwy Morgan, *Prince Charles’s Puritan Chaplain* (1957), p. 26. In 1625 Conway lodged with the Earl of Pembroke’s chaplain, John Lee, SP 16/522/8 (8 November 1625). Before he left, Conway promised to send ‘an excellent receipt for the Stone’, which Lee hoped to ‘leauē to my children’.

Arrow, at least until 1624 (but not the famously Puritan man of this name, who was not ordained until November 1626), and Conway provided for Case's widow in his will.⁸⁸

Conway's will named his sons-in-law Harley, Verney and Pelham, his cousin Edward Reed and his secretary William Weld as executors.⁸⁹ The will specified that his wife be left 'three suites of Tapestrye hangings, three Turkey Carpetts (excepting the two great long Turkey or Persia Carpetts[)]', and ten feather beds. She was also given 'vse and possession of the Pearles and Diamond Rings w^{ch} she comonly weareth and my Jewell of Diamonds made in forme of a Piramides', to the value of £1000, as long as she provided security to her son-in-law that none of this would be sold. After making provision for the payment of debts Conway asked that

a stair case and a great Chamber a withdrawing Chamber and a Chappell be built at Ragley according to a plott in paper prepared by me the Coste of w^{ch}. I doe Compute and appointe to be two Thowsande ffive hundred pounds or thereabouts[.]⁹⁰

The news of Conway's death was greeted with polite remorse by most professional contemporaries, though the response on the Isle of Wight was more vituperative:

It was a common byword amongst many that, having some loss or cross, they would sweeten it with saying, 'But my Lord Conway is dead.'⁹¹

Lady Conway's response is not recorded, but we do know she soon redecorated her Warwickshire properties, opting for a predominantly green colour scheme.⁹²

Edward Conway's debts at death amounted to £3,930 16s., besides interest.⁹³ Despite these, by the end of his life, Conway possessed a degree of financial security and invested his capital in commercial interests, such as the Warwickshire malting industry and the East

⁸⁸ TNA, PROB 11/160, fol. 410v.

⁸⁹ Ibid., fols. 409r-410r.

⁹⁰ Ibid., fol. 410r. I have not found any document that might be Conway's architectural sketch.

⁹¹ Oglander, p. 145.

⁹² WCRO, CR114A/768.

⁹³ SP 18/189/93, debts owing by Edward Viscount Conway, at his decease, [April?] 1631.

India Company.⁹⁴ Conway had a share in the monopoly of soap manufacturing, thanks to Buckingham's intercession,⁹⁵ and he, Katherine and his son Thomas had all invested in the Virginia Company.⁹⁶ Katherine, the first Viscount's second wife, was to prove antagonistic to her step-son, Edward, heir to the Conway titles and estates. Referring to his father's will, the younger Edward wrote

I fear I shall have a great question with my [step] mother, which I would be as loath to fall upon as a rock at sea. I would be content with some loss rather than not part with her with a good grace.⁹⁷

Katherine was eventually granted a £200 annuity out of lands in Ireland, and an inventory of her household expenditure between 1631 and 1633 survives in Warwickshire County Record Office.⁹⁸ She appears to have staked the bulk of her financial income on forestry produce, setting aside large portions of her 40 acres of land for logging, either whole trees or 'lops and tops', frequently incurring the irritation of her stepson, who considered that she stole much of his trade.⁹⁹ She was buried on 5 July 1639, in Acton.¹⁰⁰ The £100 she left to London's Company of Grocers was no doubt a tribute to her first husband's profession, and the £300 bequeathed to the Deacons of the Dutch church in London suggests she retained a life-long attachment to the country where was born, or simply that she subscribed to that church's particular brand of Calvinism.

Edward, second Viscount Conway and Killultagh, was a man of a rather different character from both his father and grandfather. Growing up in an atmosphere of greater wealth and privilege than either of his immediate forbears, he became a lover of life's more refined

⁹⁴ For Conway and malting, see *VCH Warwickshire*, 3.239.

⁹⁵ Stone, *Crisis of the Aristocracy*, pp. 434-5.

⁹⁶ Brown, *Genesis*, 1.208-37, 1.375-84; Kingsbury, *An Introduction to the Records of the Virginia Company of London* (Washington DC, 1905), p. 71; Kingsbury, *The Records of the Virginia Company of London*, 4 vols. (Washington DC, 1906), 3.82. Conway's possible overlap with Donne at the Virginia Company is discussed in my Introduction, pp. 5-7.

⁹⁷ *HMC Portland* (29), 3.29.

⁹⁸ BL, Add. MS 23,213, fol. 7, 6 May 1637; WCRO, CR114A/769. Katherine's will survives at PROB 11/180, fols. 437-41.

⁹⁹ SP 16/322/43, Fulke Reed to George Rawdon, 30 May 1636.

¹⁰⁰ Katherine left £10 per annum for the education of children in Acton, Daniel Lysons, *The environs of London*, 2nd edn., 2 vols., (1811), 1.11. An image of her memorial can be viewed at 'St Mary's Church Acton', www.middlesex-heraldry.org.uk/publications/monographs/mdxchurches/mdxchurches-acton.htm (accessed 15 February 2011).

pursuits: exquisite rare foods, the breeding and training of horses and birds, and the acquisition of printed matter, from subscription playbills to gloriously bound volumes imported from overseas. Despite being ‘a voluptuous man in eating and drinking’, the second Viscount acted in a military capacity, though with less success than his father or grandfather.¹⁰¹ The second Viscount Conway was baptised on 10 August 1594 in Arrow.¹⁰² He was not his father’s first child, but inherited the family estates and titles as his brother John died young. According to George Gerrard and the Earl of Clarendon, Conway was ‘bred vp in Dutchland’, ‘under the particular care of the lord Vere’.¹⁰³ This suggests a martial training under his uncle Sir Horace Vere; indeed, Conway served with Vere in 1614. Conway was educated at The Queen’s College, Oxford, matriculating on 3 May 1611.¹⁰⁴ He may have travelled to France in 1615, and was knighted on 25 March 1618, at Whitehall; on 21 September 1619 he obtained a marriage licence, though the wedding may not have taken place until October 1621. He married Frances Popham (1596/7-1671), daughter of Sir Francis Popham of Littlecote, Wiltshire, who had been knighted by Essex at Cadiz, and his wife Anne Dudley. Most of his time in these years was spent in the Netherlands, where he remained for seven years after his father’s Brill garrison was re-assigned.¹⁰⁵

Conway regularly sent news to Carleton, and in February 1624 delivered a book from him to Chamberlain.¹⁰⁶ In 1624 and 1625 he sat as MP for Warwick, having been nominated by his uncle, Fulke Greville, Lord Brooke: it seems the principal inducement to become a

¹⁰¹ Clarendon, 1.186.

¹⁰² Clarendon claims Conway was born in his father’s garrison in the Brill, but his name was not among the members of his father’s family naturalised in 1606.

¹⁰³ SP 16/298/10, Gerrard to Conway, 18 September 1635; Clarendon, 1.186.

¹⁰⁴ Joseph Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses, 1500-1714*, 4 vols. (Oxford, 1891-2), 1.318. Foster gives his age at graduation as 16, which would mean he was born in 1594 not 1592. His contemporaries, as suggested by The Queen’s College entry book for the years either side of Conway’s registration, include Michael Oldisworth (later secretary to William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, and an MP), (Sir) Francis Knollys (later MP for Reading), Hugh Cholmondeleigh (all fol. 123v); Thomas Gresham (son of Sir Thomas of Titsey, Surrey; fol. 124r); Thomas Fuller (later a vicar) and two members of the Tracy family (fol. 126r; probably John, later a Middle Temple student, and his brother Robert, later second Viscount Tracy); and (Sir) Edward Nicholas, later Secretary of State (127v). Entered along with Conway in Michaelmas term 1610 were boys with the notable names ‘Arundell’ (Ellis Arundell (Foster, 1.33)), and in the next term ‘Gilpin’ (not identifiable in Foster). My thanks to Michael Riordan, Archivist of St John’s and The Queen’s Colleges, Oxford, for supplying me with images of The Queen’s College entrance book.

¹⁰⁵ *HPT*, 3.647.

¹⁰⁶ SP 84/116/172-3, 26 Feb 1624. Cf. *Carleton to Chamberlain*, p. 315.

member of the house was to avoid being arrested for his debts.¹⁰⁷ The summer of 1624 saw him serve as Lord Willoughby's second-in-command on an expedition to the Low Countries, with his younger brother Thomas also part of the regiment.¹⁰⁸ On 5 October 1625, Conway left Plymouth on the expedition to Cadiz overseen partly by his father in London, and was escorted to his ship by the historian and politician Sir John Eliot, a friend of the Duke of Buckingham's who later turned on the Duke; Conway spent some of his holidays with Eliot.¹⁰⁹ Conway was returned as MP for Yarmouth in 1626, thanks to his father's influence on the Isle of Wight. In August 1627, he was wounded on Buckingham's expedition to Rhé, where he commanded a regiment of 4,000, but recovered within the month in time to lead a successful attack at the end of the campaign.¹¹⁰ Buckingham may then have secured Conway his position as a Gentleman of the Privy Chamber. At the 1628 parliament, he suffered from local reactions to his father's officiousness: his nomination by the elder Conway, as MP for Newport, was rejected. Instead, he joined the House of Lords, summoned in the right of his father's barony, a procedure unprecedented for the son of a Viscount.

In 1629, on the death of his uncle, Sir Fulke Conway, Edward moved to Lisburn where he remained until 1635, leaving for a spell in the navy, and returning again in 1639. In this period he leased most of the family's Warwickshire property to Robert Greville, second Lord Brooke. Edward was created Viscount Conway in 1631 on the death of his father. Further income was derived from money owed to his father. Charles had stopped payments of the elder Conway's £2,000 pension around the time of the former secretary's death, but his son had not forgotten the arrangement. In 1633 the King granted a payment of the arrears and remainder of the pension to the amount of £10,000, paid in the form of farmland

¹⁰⁷ *HPT*, 3.647.

¹⁰⁸ *HPT*, 3.650.

¹⁰⁹ SP 16/7/31, Sir John Eliot to Sec. Conway, 6 October 1625, and SP 16/12/95, Sir John Eliot to Sec. Conway, 31 December 1625. Conrad Russell calls Eliot 'an addict ... to the conspiracy theory of history ... which always tried to explain misfortune or defeat through betrayal by a single individual' (*ODNB*). It is interesting to compare Conway's analysis after Cadiz, that just as the last Parliament was 'spoiled by some few factious men', the military expedition was jeopardised by 'two or three foolish men'. Cited in *HPT*, 3.648.

¹¹⁰ *HMC Skrine (16)*, pp. 126-8, Salvetti to Grand Duke, 14 August 1627; SP 16/75/11, Henry De Vic to Sec. Conway, 25 August 1627. Friendships Conway formed in Rhé are explored further in Chapter 2.

worth £666 13s. 4d. a year.¹¹¹ Despite the windfall, the mid 1630s were dull for a military man in search of action. In the cold summer of 1635 Conway was at sea, aboard the *Merhonour* drifting aimlessly in search of someone to fight: French and Dutch ships all seemed to have disappeared, and by early November he was back in London.¹¹² He lay similarly idle aboard the *Triumph* in June 1636 alongside Edward Burgh, cousin of George Rawdon, both long-time employees of the Conway family. In mid-1637 Conway travelled around England as ‘diligent atender’ to Algernon, tenth Earl of Northumberland, his closest friend, visiting Petworth, Wanstead and Sion.¹¹³

On 17 June 1637 Conway was appointed to the King’s Council of War, mainly because of his equestrian expertise, but also thanks to the influence of Northumberland, the Council of War’s President, now also Lord-General and Lord High Admiral of England.¹¹⁴ Conway’s nomination as General of the Horse in January 1639, did not please everyone: ‘The Lo^{ps}. Marshall, Essex, Holland, are much discontented’, reported Sir Richard Cave.¹¹⁵ On the other hand, no-one was more pleased with Conway’s appointment than Archbishop Laud,

who had contracted an extraordinary opinion of this man, and took great delight in his company, he being well able to speak in the affairs of the Church, and taking care to be thought by him a very zealous defender of it; when they who knew him better, knew he had no kind of sense of religion, and thought all was alike.¹¹⁶

Conway would unfortunately prove the doubters right. In 1640 he saw military action along the Scottish border, where General David Lesley’s army were preparing to annex English coalfields around Newcastle. The eventual skirmish resulted in a rout. Conway’s desperate men, ordered to defend a pass over the Tyne, ran at the first sign of attack. The blame for Conway’s loss could hardly be laid at his feet alone: he described his commission as ‘teaching Cart-horses to manage and making men that are fitt for Bedlam and Bridewell to

¹¹¹ SP 16/257/44, the King to Lord Treasurer Weston and others, undated [1633?].

¹¹² SP 16/295/13, Conway to Sec. Coke, 2 August 1635.

¹¹³ *HMC De L’Isle and Dudley* (77), 6.98, the Countess of Leicester to the Earl of Leicester, 30 March 1637; *ibid.*, p. 123, W. Hawkins to the Earl of Leicester, 14/24 September 1637.

¹¹⁴ SP 16/361/113, the King to the Lord Treasurer, 17 June 1637.

¹¹⁵ SP 16/441/92, Sir Richard Cave to [Sir Thomas Roe], 10 January 1640.

¹¹⁶ Clarendon, 1.187.

keep the ten Commandements'.¹¹⁷ Nevertheless, he was vilified by fellow courtiers, politicians and the public. 'Here is no roome for Conaway, / Nor many more that run away', jested one ballad-maker.¹¹⁸

Conway resigned his post in April 1641.¹¹⁹ Soon afterwards he was appointed Governor of Londonderry and Marshal of Ireland.¹²⁰ 'My Lo: Conway is made Lo: Marshall of Ireland,' announced Thomas Smith in November 1639, '& is to go setle himself there for good & all shortly, w^{ch} I am not sory for one jott'.¹²¹ Conway won a victory over rebel Irish forces in 1641, but suffered losses to his own property in the process. Returning to England in 1643, he initially sided with the Parliamentarians, but was soon imprisoned under suspicion of complicity in Edmund Waller's plot to restore Charles.¹²² Conway compounded for delinquency in 1646, appealing a fine of £3,000 and eventually paying £1,859 4s.¹²³ He wrote in 1653 that 'nothing could be more pleasing to all degrees of men then the dissolution of these Parliament men'.¹²⁴

Conway suffered severely from gallstones, gout and 'gravel' (urinary crystals) in his later years, and began to lose his hearing by 1652, which troubled him, 'for I haue not delighted in any thing so mutch as reading and discoursing if I loose my hearing I loose the one halfe of the ioy of my life'.¹²⁵ He spent most of the next decade living with Northumberland. There has been some speculation about the relationship between the two men, because one of Waller's poems calls Conway Northumberland's 'Consort ... And bosom frend, Patroclus Conaway'. The name Patroclus, Achilles' devoted friend in the *Iliad*, was a recognised synonym for homosexual attachment.¹²⁶ However, Waller uses the same

¹¹⁷ SP 16/455/38, Conway to [Elizabeth Countess of Devonshire], 28 May 1640.

¹¹⁸ Anon., 'A Common Observation Upon These Times', 1645 (Wing C5571).

¹¹⁹ *HMC Cowper* (23), 2.279, Sir John Coke the younger 'For Your Honour', 17 April 1641.

¹²⁰ H. R. Plomer, 'A Cavalier's Library', *Library*, new ser., 5 (1904), pp. 158-72, at p. 166.

¹²¹ SP 16/432/59, Thomas Smith to [Sir John Pennington], 15 November 1639.

¹²² For more on this plot, see the interrogation of the Earl of Portland on 1 July 1643, *HMC Fifth Report*, p. 94. The fullest account of the plot is given in Warren Chernaik, *The Poetry of Limitation* (New Haven, CT, and London, 1968), pp. 31-4.

¹²³ *HPT*, 3.649.

¹²⁴ SP 18/35/168, Viscount Conway and Killultagh to [his son?], 26 April 1653.

¹²⁵ SP 18/25/13, Viscount Conway and Killultagh to [unknown recipient], 14 October 1652.

¹²⁶ Timothy Raylor, 'A new poem by Waller? Lady Katherine Howard, the Earl of Northumberland, and an Entertainment on board the *Triumph*', *EMS*, 13 (2007), pp. 212-31, at p. 218. Cf. William Shakespeare,

analogy to elucidate Charles I's love for Buckingham in the poem 'Of His Majesty's Receiving the News of the Duke of Buckingham's Death', and in both cases the sexual implications seem highly unlikely.¹²⁷

In his last years Conway travelled abroad, though details of the journey are largely missing. It took him through Antwerp (in 1654) and eventually to France, since he died either in Paris or Lyons on 26 June 1655, probably following a stroke.¹²⁸ Because France was, during the late 1640s, a haven for Royalist exiles – including many of Conway's old friends, such as Denham, Waller and Killigrew – his presence there may have had political implications.¹²⁹ Most likely he was travelling for health reasons. His son Edward wrote to George Rawdon on 24 July, recording that his father had

had a long distemper upon him of cold and rheum which was much amended by his being at Paris, and he writ to me that he did believe the heat of the climate in Languedocke would perfectly recover his flesh. The 12th of June he had been as well as at any time of his coming there; the same day he swooned, and was struck with a palsy in his tongue. He recovered of that, and was well almost a week, but afterwards the palsy changed its course, and fell upon his lungs the 22d day, that all the skill the physicians had could not make him spit so much as once. The 26th he died with that calmness and quietness as one would fall asleep, having his memory and senses perfect to the last. This is the account given to me, and a great grief it is to me, for I do not love my friends with an ordinary affection, and his kindness to me was extraordinary great.¹³⁰

The letter-writer inherited his father's titles and estates. He later became Earl of Conway, and served as Secretary of State from 1681 to 1683, when he resigned amidst allegations that he had 'not rightly pursu[ed] the King's instructions to ambassadors abroad'.¹³¹

Troilus and Cressida, V.i.15-17. In G. Blakemore Evans *et al.* (eds.), *The Riverside Shakespeare*, 2nd edn. (Boston, MA, and New York, 1997).

¹²⁷ Raylor, 'The Early Poetic Career of Edmund Waller', *HLQ*, 26 (2006), pp. 239-65, at p. 252. The word is not in the index to Alan Bray's *The Friend* (Chicago, IL, and London, 2003) or Paul Hammond's *Figuring Sex between Men from Shakespeare to Rochester* (Oxford, 2002); all uses of 'Patroclus' in Bruce R. Smith's *Homosexual Desire in Shakespeare's England* (Chicago, IL, and London, 1994) refer to Achilles's friend.

¹²⁸ Plomer, p. 172.

¹²⁹ Daniel Starza Smith, 'Busy young fool, unruly son?', *RES*, new ser., 61 (2011), forthcoming.

¹³⁰ Edmund Berwick (ed.), *The Rawdon Papers* (1819), pp. 185-7; Nicolson, p. 127.

¹³¹ Cited by Sean Kelsey, 'Edward Conway, earl of Conway', *ODNB*.

Family and friends of the Conways

As Secretary of State, the elder Edward Conway communicated with virtually every major public figure in Jacobean and Caroline England. His son's friendships with literary and intellectual figures from the mid-seventeenth century are explored in Chapter 2. What I aim to establish here is the Conway family's marital associations. Through Sir John Conway's marriage to Helen Greville of Beauchamps Court, the Conways gained a connection to the Grevilles, particularly Fulke Greville (1554-1628), Lord Brooke, that lasted for many years: when the second Viscount moved to Ireland, he leased parts of the Ragley estate to the new Lord Brooke. Sir John Conway also seems to have initiated a relationship with the Percys, earls of Northumberland. The second Viscount's close friendship with Algernon Percy is well documented (see Chapter 2, p. 84), but an earlier meeting between the families took place in 1591, when Sir John and one of his sons attended a Percy feast of mutton, veal, capons, 'heronshawes' (small herons), rabbits, pigeons, partridges, chickens, a pair of pippins, a pair of 'marow[s]', two salmon and some trout at lunchtime; the menu was much the same that evening, but with added calves' feet.¹³² It seems probable that the Conways, like many others, avoided direct association with Henry Percy after his implication in the Gunpowder Plot in 1605. Other families with whom the Conways had close associations include the Sidneys, the Veres and the Gooderes. Neighbouring Warwickshire families included the Verneys of Compton Verney and the Lucys of Charlecote.¹³³

Sir John and Helen produced eight children: Edward (1564-1631), Fulke (1565-1624), John (dates unknown) and Thomas (*d.*1625), Elizabeth (*b.*1578), Katherine (dates unknown), Mary (*b.*1580), and Frances (dates unknown). Apart from Edward, the first Viscount, relatively little is known about Sir John Conway's children. Thomas seems to have joined the armies in the Low Countries, and had a tract on martial mathematics dedicated to him

¹³² 'An Extract from a Breving Book at Bath, 1591', in G. R. Batho, *The Household Papers of Henry Percy, Ninth Earl of Northumberland (1564-1632)* (Camden Society, 1962), p. 11. There is no further evidence of friendship in the two principal Percy sources, Edward Barrington de Fonblanque, *Annals of the House of Percy*, 2 vols. (Privately printed, 1887), and Gerald Brenan, *A History of the House of Percy*, 2 vols. (1902).

¹³³ Cf. Alice Fairfax-Lucy, *Charlecote and the Lucys* (1990). Charlecote, situated exactly between Warwick and Stratford, is where the young Shakespeare is said, in Richard Davies's 1708 account, to have poached deer.

around the turn of the century.¹³⁴ More evidence survives about Sir Fulke and Lady Katherine.

Fulke Conway was probably named after his Greville uncle or grandfather. Knighted by Essex in Ireland on 6 August 1599 (the day after Donne's friend Sir Henry Goodere), Fulke was a soldier and landowner in his own right, settling the Conway estates in Ireland.¹³⁵ In 1602, Fulke received 'a royal grant of the manors of Killultagh and Derryvolgie (comprising Blaris, Lambeg and Derriaghy)'; he consolidated these by purchasing many of Con O'Neill's confiscated lands in County Down, and founding the town of Lisnagarvey (which began to be called Lisburn from around 1662).¹³⁶ His careful management of the Irish colonial lands proved a lasting benefit to his family, but was bought at a heavy cost to native inhabitants. Sir Arthur Chichester reported on 16 December 1600 that 'S^r Foulke Conway ... while I was awaye hath done as good dayes workes in kyllinge, burninge, taking of Cowes, and destroyinge the reables as anie in Ierlande and I hope to contineue yt'.¹³⁷

Sir Fulke Conway suffered an early death on 4 November 1624, recorded by Chamberlain:

S^r Fulke Conway (brother to M^r Secretarie) hauing his house in Ireland burnt about his earse by negligence in taking tobacco and escaping the first furie of the fire, wold needes adventure in again to saue certaine writings or papers, but came backe so singed and stifled wth the smoke that he died presently, leauing better then two thousand pound land a year, in that countrie to descend to M^r Secretarie for ought we know.¹³⁸

¹³⁴ Edmund Gentil, 'Difinitions in the arte of Geometrie, in Nomber 44 necessarie to be perfectlie understoode of all Martialistes that have Command ... Probleames or Rules of Practise in the Arte of Geometrie in Nomber 36' (c.1595-1610). This was sold at Sotheby's in October 2010 (lot 13), to Christopher Edwards, to whom I am very grateful for bringing it to my attention, and for sharing his thoughts. It is now in the Folger, but at the time of writing had not been assigned a shelfmark. I have found no Gentil, Gentile or Gentili of this description. Thomas Conway witnessed a lease between his father and Richard Clarke of Welmington, Herefordshire, in August 1596; SBT, ER2/439.

¹³⁵ Shaw, *The Knights of England*, 2.97. Fulke is not mentioned in any *ODNB* article, and the few *JSTOR* and *Oxford Journals* articles that mention him contain little biographical information.

¹³⁶ Robert Bell, *The Book of Ulster Surnames* (Belfast, 1988), p. 40. Cf. Barra Boydell and Máire Egan-Buffet: 'An Early Seventeenth-Century Library from Ulster: Books on Music in the Collection of Lord Edward Conway (1602-1655)', in *Music, Ireland and the Seventeenth Century*, ed. Barra Boydell and Kerry Houston (Dublin, 2009), pp. 95-108, at p. 96.

¹³⁷ SP 63/207/6, fol. 200.

¹³⁸ SP 14/176/65, Chamberlain to Carleton, 18 December 1624.

It is interesting to note the value that Sir Fulke set on his papers, risking (and suffering) death to try to save them. On Fulke's death, his brother Edward assumed financial responsibility for the Irish estates – and for his widowed sister-in-law, Amy (née Bourne). She was awarded £400 a year for life from the Irish estates in 1633, and seems to have acquired lands in Wales worth £3,500.¹³⁹ The second Viscount Conway later negotiated his way out of this obligation, according to a document signed by Wentworth, which decreed that since Amy had 'receaued allready six thowsand five hundreth Pounds, together wth a Jointure of fowre hundreth Powndes Per Annum' her 'Preferrment and Prouision ... hath been very Honorable & Noble'.¹⁴⁰

Sir John Conway's daughter Katherine married Sir Thomas Hunckes and, among their seven children, they produced perhaps the most remarkably named child of the seventeenth century, Sir Hercules Hunckes (*d.*1660). Hercules became a reluctant regicide, who guarded Charles I in 1649 but refused to sign his death-warrant, leading Cromwell to call him 'a froward, peevish fellow'.¹⁴¹ He was pardoned after giving evidence against his former comrades in their Restoration trial. The elder Edward Conway may have helped secure an army post for Sir Fulke Hunckes, who later served in Ireland in the 1640s;¹⁴² in April 1628, the Conways funded one of the Hunckes daughters' dowries.¹⁴³ Katherine was paid £50 a year for life from the Conway estate, until her death in 1646, and given a house in Arrow.¹⁴⁴ Sir Hercules witnessed the will of Frances Conway, the second Viscount's wife, in 1671.¹⁴⁵ The youngest Hunckes daughter, Mary, married Richard Baxter, the minister, and her brothers Fulke and Henry were 'royalist governors of Shrewsbury and of Banbury, despite their younger brother's adherence to the parliamentary cause'.¹⁴⁶

¹³⁹ WCRO, CR114A/769, April 1633.

¹⁴⁰ WCRO, CR114A/787, decree barring Amy, Lady Conway, relict of Sir Fulke Conway, from further claims on his estate administered by Viscount Conway, 1634.

¹⁴¹ Stephen C. Manganiello, *The Concise Encyclopedia of the Revolutions and Wars of England, Scotland, and Ireland, 1639-1660* (Oxford, 2004), p. 270.

¹⁴² SP 14/88/33, Thomas Hunckes to Sir Edward Conway, July 1616, in which he regrets his son Fulke's resolution to be a soldier. Cf. SP 16/539/90 (6 June 1642). For another Hunckes, Henry, see SP 16/87/44 (25 December 1627). Cf. Manganiello, p. 270.

¹⁴³ WCRO, CR114A/770, fol. 2r.

¹⁴⁴ WCRO, CR114A/769; PROB 11/160, fol. 410r.

¹⁴⁵ HEH, HA 14583, 29 March 1671.

¹⁴⁶ N. H. Keeble, 'Richard Baxter', *ODNB*.

Sir John Conway's eldest son, Edward (the first Viscount), married Dorothy Tracy, establishing links to both the Tracys of Toddington, Gloucestershire, through her father, and to the Throckmortons of Coughton Court, Warwickshire, Dorothy's maternal ancestors. As Jacqueline Eales explains, the Tracys were 'a Protestant family who regularly boasted of their ancestor William Tracy, whose will was declared heretical in 1532 for claiming justification by faith, and whose remains were exhumed and publicly burned',¹⁴⁷ the Throckmortons, conversely, were a highly Catholic family who were later involved in the Gunpowder Plot. In 1607, Dorothy's sister Mary married Sir Horace Vere, one of Conway's military colleagues. Dorothy had been married once before, to Edward Bray of Great Barrington, Gloucestershire, and brought with her from that relationship a son, Sir Giles Bray, and a daughter, Anna Bray, whom Conway received wholeheartedly into his family, and who married Sir Isaac Wake in 1623.¹⁴⁸ Wake served as Dudley Carleton's secretary, and as English agent to Turin; his patrons included Prince Henry, Horace Vere and James Hay, Viscount Doncaster.¹⁴⁹ Through the mid 1620s Wake sent his father-in-law regular despatches.¹⁵⁰ Anna's brother, the younger Edward Conway, thought her 'cholericke and susp<icious>' and 'very ready to take Alarme'.¹⁵¹ After their father's death, he appointed lawyers, Richard Moore and Grimbald Pauncefoot, to act as her trustees.¹⁵²

The elder Edward Conway and Dorothy had eight children of their own: John, who died in infancy, Frances (dates unknown), Edward (1594-1655), Helioganrith (spelled numerous ways, including Heliganrith, Hiligenwith, Helengewagh, Hellweigh and Helen; *d.* 1629), Brilliana (*c.* 1598-1643), Thomas (1597-*c.* 1631), Mary (dates unknown) and Ralph (1605-*c.* 1636). Brilliana, Helioganrith, Mary and Ralph were all naturalised by a private Act of Parliament in 1606, having been born in Conway's garrison in the Brill.¹⁵³ Apart from the younger Edward, more evidence survives about Conway's daughters than his sons. Ralph

¹⁴⁷ Eales, *Harleys*, p. 22.

¹⁴⁸ Cf. John Stoye, *English Travellers Abroad 1604-1667*, rev. edn. (1989), p. 112. Vivienne Larminie, 'Sir Isaac Wake', *ODNB*; Alan Davidson and Irene Cassidy, 'Sir Isaac Wake', *HPT*, 6.642-3.

¹⁴⁹ Larminie, *op. cit.*

¹⁵⁰ BL, Add. MS 34,311, Isaac Wake's letter books.

¹⁵¹ SP 16/252/18, Conway to William Weld, 5 December 1633. The MS is damaged.

¹⁵² SP 16/258/19.1, Acquittance by Lady Wake to Conway, 6 January 1634. Cf. SP 16/270/23. Pauncefoot also appears in SP 14/205/1, SP 16/285/82, SP 16/291/123, and SP 17/D, fol. 9.

¹⁵³ Eales, *Puritans and Roundheads*, p. 22. Brilliana's name was almost certainly inspired by her place of birth.

appears to have been jovial but undistinguished, while Thomas was brought up by Sir Francis Vere to be a soldier, and was knighted at Theobalds on 14 July 1624.¹⁵⁴ He was admitted to Gray's Inn on 12 August 1617, and was appointed MP for Rye after some embarrassing confusion (his brother Edward was initially nominated).¹⁵⁵ Thomas served for a time as one of 'y^e Gentlemen Ushers daily attending on y^e Queen', but was principally a military man, serving in the Netherlands, Germany and the Palatine, and with Swedish and Danish forces.¹⁵⁶ He drowned off the coast of Denmark before January 1632.¹⁵⁷

Frances married Sir William Pelham (1590-1644) of Brocklesby, Lincoln, around 1617, grandson of the more famous Sir William (*d.*1587) whose missing leg armour indirectly led to Sir Philip Sidney's death at Zutphen.¹⁵⁸ In 1629, Conway paid the grand sum of £100 for a tomb and monument to Pelham's parents Ann, Lady Pelham, and Sir William (1567-1629) in Brocklesby parish church, Lincolnshire.¹⁵⁹ Conway or his father probably forged a friendship with the elder Pelham in the Netherlands. The expenditure and care taken over the monument indicate the importance the Conways and the Pelhams placed on family. Certainly Frances was to continue the tradition, and would joke about her fecundity:

Y^r Lo: command to me will put y^u to a long taske in reading all my childrens names whom I will name to y^u, as God has giuen them to me Ann francis Dorothy, Edward william Charles, Ellnor Elizabeth Katherin Margerit Gorge, who I hope will be all a cording to there duty in bloode, diuine, and scivell, truth, faythfull and humble seruants to y^u and all yours[.]¹⁶⁰

Previous writers have not noted that Frances was herself an author. A devotional tract she wrote for her children, 'Expression of Faith', survives in Nottingham University Special

¹⁵⁴ Sir Francis Vere, *The Commentaries* (Cambridge, 1657), sig. A5r-v; John Nichols, *The Progresses, Processions, and Magnificent Festivities of King James the First*, 4 vols. (1828), 4.978.

¹⁵⁵ Joseph Foster, *The Register of Admissions to Gray's Inn*, pp. 93, 147.

¹⁵⁶ Peter Lefevre and Paul Hunneyball, 'Thomas Conway', *HPT*, 3.650-1, at p. 650.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 650.

¹⁵⁸ J. J. N. McGurk, 'Sir William Pelham', *ODNB*. Cf. Oosterhoff, *Leicester and the Netherlands*, pp. 99, 135, 176.

¹⁵⁹ SP 16/530/93, indenture made between Conway and William Wright, graver in stone, 20 November 1629. Cf. Nikolaus Pevsner and John Harris, *The Buildings of England: Lincolnshire* (1964), pp. 67, 187.

¹⁶⁰ SP 16/409/105, Frances, Lady Pelham, to Conway, 16 January 1639. Another child, William, the first-born son, died aged five.

Collections.¹⁶¹ It contains a poem that I believe has not previously been recorded, reproduced in Appendix 3.¹⁶² The second Viscount Conway maintained a friendly relationship with the Pelhams.¹⁶³

The elder Edward Conway's daughter Brilliana probably remains his most celebrated child. The likely geographical basis of her name associate her implicitly with the European Protestant cause to which her father had devoted so much of his life. In July 1623 she married the twice-widowed Sir Robert Harley, from the 'resolute[ly] protestant' Harley family of Brampton Bryan, Herefordshire, the match having been conducted by Lady Vere.¹⁶⁴ Brilliana was Harley's third wife, but she was 'undoubtedly a good "catch" for Sir Robert', according to Jacqueline Eales, as demonstrated by her comparatively low dowry, £1,600. In contrast, Sir Robert's father gave the major part of his estate to his son. As Eales notes, 'few fathers were as generous as Thomas Harley had been and his actions bear witness to the importance which the Harleys placed on securing an alliance with the Conways'.¹⁶⁵ Personally, Brilliana and Robert were like-mindedly staunch Puritans. In day-to-day matters, their letters suggest, they were affectionate, kind and warm. Brilliana was very intellectually active, as Johanna Harris has most recently shown.¹⁶⁶ Indeed, her brother Edward wrote to Robert Harley that in the Brampton Bryan household 'the order of things is inuerted, you write to me of cheeses and my Sister writes about a good scholler'.¹⁶⁷ Brilliana composed around 400 surviving letters between 1622 and 1643, regularly discussed and exchanged books with her husband and son Edward ('Ned') – who studied at at Magdalen Hall, Oxford from 1638 – and translated Calvin's life of Luther from

¹⁶¹ Nottingham University Library, Special Collections, Portland MSS, Pw V 89.

¹⁶² Ibid., fol. 14r. The *Perdita Project* website records the manuscript as 'Spiritual diary' but does not note the presence of the poem; www.warwick.ac.uk/english/perdita/html (accessed 8 April 2011).

¹⁶³ E.g. SP 16/463/51, Conway to Lady Pelham, 6 August 1640.

¹⁶⁴ John P. Ferris, 'Sir Robert Harley', *HPT*, 4.547-58, at pp. 547, 550.

¹⁶⁵ Eales, *Puritans and Roundheads*, p. 21; cf. Stone, *Crisis of the Aristocracy*, p. 639.

¹⁶⁶ Johanna Harris, "'But I thinke and beleewe": Lady Brilliana Harley's Puritanism in Epistolary Community', in *The Intellectual Culture of Puritan Women, 1558-1680*, eds. Johanna Harris and Elizabeth Scott-Baumann (Basingstoke, 2011), pp. 108-21. For publications that discuss Brilliana up to 2007, collected by Margaret Sönmez, see 'Lady Brilliana Harley', www.let.leidenuniv.nl/hsl_shl/brilliana_harley.htm (accessed 8 February 2011). Johanna Harris is currently working on an edition of Brilliana Conway's manuscript writings, and I am grateful to her for sharing information from several forthcoming articles: 'Lady Brilliana Harley's Letters and Puritan Intellectual Culture', *LC*; 'Lady Brilliana Harley's Letters and the Literature of Advice', *New Ways of Looking at Old Texts, V*, ed. M. Denbo; and an entry in the *Blackwell Encyclopaedia of English Renaissance Literature*, eds. Garrett A. Sullivan, Alan Stewart *et al.*

¹⁶⁷ BL, Add. MS 70,002, fols. 171r-172r. Cited in Harris, 'But I thinke', p. 111.

French.¹⁶⁸ She also kept a commonplace book that ‘in summary ranged from the classical moral philosophy of Seneca and Cicero, to the foundations of international Calvinism in Beza, Musculus and Calvin, enriched by [William] Perkins and across the spectrum of mainstream and radical Protestant theology.’¹⁶⁹ It also records her notes from the sermons of Thomas Case, minister of Arrow so represents to some extent her intellectual development in the Conway household.

Conway had two daughters with intriguing names, but by far the most baffling of the two, whichever spelling one chooses, is Helioganrith. The most convincing explanation of this name is that it is a variant of *Heleganwach*, Dutch for ‘saints’ land’.¹⁷⁰ Helioganrith Conway married Sir William Smith in 1627, Smith acknowledging receipt of £1,000 towards her dowry in mid April.¹⁷¹ While relatively little information survives about her, she appears to have commanded great affection among her family. In 1629, negotiations were made to marry Mary to Sir George Hume, but these were called off when the Humes withdrew from the proposed contracts.¹⁷² When Conway died he left her £2,500 for her portion in his will, plus £100 a year maintenance until her marriage, in case she couldn’t bear to live with her step-mother.

The younger Edward Conway married Frances Popham (1596/7-1671), daughter of Sir Francis Popham (1572/3-1644) and Anne Dudley. The couple seem to have been ill-matched.¹⁷³ Some of Frances’s correspondence, and her will, survives in the Huntington Library.¹⁷⁴ Their eldest son and heir Edward (1623-83) was to become the third Viscount

¹⁶⁸ Harris, ‘But I thinke’, p. 113. This is now lost.

¹⁶⁹ Harris, p. 113. The manuscript survives at Nottingham University Library, Special Collections, Portland MSS, Commonplace Book of Brilliana Harley, 1622.

¹⁷⁰ E. G. Withycombe, *The Oxford Dictionary of English Christian Names* (London and Oxford, 1950), p. 52. There is a municipality in Westerwalkreis, in the Rhineland-Palatinate (in modern-day Germany) called Heiligenroth, but it is almost 250 miles from the western coastline of continental Europe. The town has connections to the family of Nassau, but these appear to date from the nineteenth-century Duchy, rather than Prince Maurice of Nassau, one of Conway’s martial heroes.

¹⁷¹ SP 16/60/61, receipt of Sir William Smith, 18 April 1627. He should not be confused with the MP of this name who died in 1620.

¹⁷² Not the George Hume/Home who became Earl of Dunbar.

¹⁷³ See e.g. SP 16/318/33, William Chambers to George Rawdon 6 April 1636.

¹⁷⁴ HEH, HA 14575-82. The will is HA 14583, dated 29 March 1671. It was witnessed by Thomas Wilson (minister of Arrow), Sir Hercules Hunckes, and Con Magennis, a trusted employee of the Conways, with her

Conway, and later Earl of Conway in 1680 (in return for a rumoured payment of £10,000), as well as Secretary of State for Charles II. Though he did not attend school or university, he was sent to Paris to learn military tactics, and inherited at least some of his father's book and manuscript collection.¹⁷⁵ The third Edward Conway took over the Conway family's 'fine estate' in Ireland, and proved highly astute at securing money from dowries: his second wife, Elizabeth Booth, brought with her £13,000, and his third, Ursula Stawell, came with a staggering portion of £30,000.¹⁷⁶ The youngest Edward Conway is best remembered for his first wife, Anne, née Finch (1631-79), the philosopher.¹⁷⁷ Anne – daughter of Sir Heneage Finch (1580-1631), Speaker of the House of Commons, and Elizabeth Cradock – suffered debilitating illness throughout her life, principally severe headaches, and was treated by Theodore de Mayerne, Franciscus Mercurius van Helmont, Valentine Greatrakes, William Harvey, Thomas Willis and George Rust, Bishop of Dromore, among numerous European medical experts. Despite her illness, she maintained a long intellectual correspondence with the Cambridge Platonist Henry More, from 1650, the year before her marriage to Conway.¹⁷⁸ Anne was daughter of Sir Heneage Finch, after whom the couple's only child was named, though he died of smallpox aged just two.¹⁷⁹

Another of the second Viscount Conway's children, Dorothy, married Sir George Rawdon (1604-84), the Conways' agent in Ireland, in September 1654.¹⁸⁰ Yorkshire-born Rawdon had joined the elder Edward Conway's service in 1625, and continued to work for the younger Conway, mainly on the family's Irish estates. MP for Belfast in 1640, he also served as an army officer from 1635 until 1647, though he could not prevent rebels burning his own house at Brookhill in 1641. He rebuilt this property, and stood as MP for Antrim,

son Edward sole executor. Cf. PROB 11/336, another copy of the will. Frances left money to Thomas Wilson, minister of Arrow church, and to her servant Mary Holtom.

¹⁷⁵ Sean Kelsey, 'Edward Conway, Earl of Conway', *ODNB*. Cf. SP 18/1/25, deed of gift, by Edward, Viscount Conway and Kilultagh, to Edward Conway, his son and heir, of all his books and MSS, in consideration of his son's having disbursed divers sums of money for him, 10 March 1649. This was witnessed by 'Fab: Phillipe' and 'Frederic Houper'.

¹⁷⁶ Sean Kelsey, 'Edward Conway, earl of Conway', *ODNB*.

¹⁷⁷ See Sarah Hutton, 'Anne Conway, Viscountess Conway and Killultagh', *ODNB*.

¹⁷⁸ Nicolson, *passim*.

¹⁷⁹ A plaque memorialising this child survives at Arrow church. *VCH Warwickshire*, 3.31.

¹⁸⁰ The following paragraph is based on R. M. Armstrong, 'Sir George Rawdon', *ODNB*, with further consultation of Edmund Berwick (ed.), *The Rawdon Papers* (1819) and the Rawdon Hastings manuscripts at the Huntington.

Down and Armagh in 1659. Dorothy was his second wife, and they produced ten children. Several of her letters between 1663 and 1675 survive at the Huntington.¹⁸¹ Rawdon is important because much of the second Viscount's property and estates passed to him, including some of his books. Both the Earl of Conway and Rawdon continued to improve the estates in Ireland.¹⁸²

Estates and finances

The manor of Ragley was held by the Burdet family in the fourteenth and most of the fifteenth centuries.¹⁸³ In 1485, John Burdet's half-brother Richard gained control of the manor; when Richard's widow Joyce married Sir Hugh Conway, she took with her a dowry worth one third of Ragley Hall. Because the remaining two-thirds was in the hands of Anna (Joyce's daughter and heir), who married Sir Hugh's younger brother Edward (*d.*1546), the manor effectively came into the possession of the Conway family. This Edward Conway's grandson was Sir John Conway – the first of the three men with which this thesis is concerned. Sir John Conway drew together many surrounding lands, acquiring Pophills (or Popehyll) in 1591 from George Brome.¹⁸⁴ Further consolidation of land was effected through close links with the Grevilles. Ragley lies just beyond Alcester, which was given to the first Sir Fulke Greville by Henry VIII, and through several intermarriages, including Sir John's own, the 'property of the Grevilles, the Beauchamps, and the Conways [became] practically continuous.'¹⁸⁵

¹⁸¹ HEH, HA 15612-31.

¹⁸² For one particular innovation they imported, see Vandra Costello, 'Dutch Influences in Seventeenth-Century Ireland: The Duck Decoy', *Garden History*, 30 (2002), pp. 177-190.

¹⁸³ The building was remodelled in the late seventeenth century by Robert Hook for the Earl of Conway, then again in the eighteenth century; modern architectural accounts of Ragley all post-date the time-scale of this thesis. See Nikolaus Pevsner and Alexandra Wedgwood, *The Buildings of England: Warwickshire* (Harmondsworth, 1966), p. 380. For Ragley's garden and how it was based on André Mollet's *Le Jardin de plaisir* (1651), see David Jacques and Arend Jan van der Horst, *The Gardens of William and Mary* (1988), pp. 10-11. A plan of the redesigned hall survives at BL, Add. MS 31,323. Cf. Geoffrey Tyack, *Warwickshire Country Houses* (Chichester, 1994), pp. 166, 172. No Warwickshire estate plans are held at the Guildhall Library in London.

¹⁸⁴ *VCH Warwick*, 3.160.

¹⁸⁵ Nicolson, pp. 6-7. There is no mention of any Conway or of Ragley in either John Nichols's *Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth*, or E. K. Chambers's *The Elizabethan Stage*, suggesting that Ragley Hall received no royal visit.

For much of his professional career Conway lived away from the family seat, primarily during his tenancy in the Brill, but also in Jersey and the Isle of Wight while seconded there for official duties. As Secretary of State, he followed the Court, whether that meant to Whitehall, Westminster or Hampton Court, or on tour to Salisbury, Newmarket or Beaulieu, among other destinations. In London, Conway occupied an official secretarial residence in St. Martin's Lane; earlier, in 1605 and 1606, certain London-bound letters were addressed to him in Silver Street just north of the Guildhall in the parish of St. Olave's. He and his wife also had rooms at Whitehall, Greenwich and in Little Britain (near the Barbican in London, and home of the second-hand book trade).¹⁸⁶ However, the Ragley estates remained a significant source of income. Tenants rented land in Arrow Fields, Allmow Meadow and Tipping Hills, and by 1625 the great tithes of Luddington (a town near Stratford), worth £70-£80 per annum, were in Conway hands.¹⁸⁷ In that year Conway bought the privy tithes of Luddington for £210, with a further indefinite reserved rent of £2 13s. 4d.¹⁸⁸

The Conways spent much of their lives stationed in military garrisons abroad, mostly in the Netherlands. As Secretary of State, the elder Edward Conway followed the court on the king's progresses through the country. Nevertheless, the Conways' estates in Warwickshire and Ireland were of vital importance. As Jacqueline Eales observes, 'the ownership of land was the unrivalled symbol of status, because it was the basis for political power'.¹⁸⁹ Lawrence Stone notes that landed property was expected to provide a gentleman four main services:

an obsequious and obedient source of manpower; supplies of food and fuel for consumption in the household; a regular annual income to meet normal running expenditure; and occasional large sums to pay for emergencies such as service on an embassy or the marriage of a daughter.¹⁹⁰

¹⁸⁶ For the latter two, see SP 14/523/5, Katherine Conway to Conway, 2 January 1626.

¹⁸⁷ CR114A/769; *VCH Warwick*, 3.280.

¹⁸⁸ *VCH Warwick*, 3.280.

¹⁸⁹ Eales, p. 16. See also Stone, *Crisis of the Aristocracy*, p. 41.

¹⁹⁰ Stone, *Crisis of the Aristocracy*, p. 294.

‘Emergencies’ like a daughter’s marriage aside, the Conways relied on this income to finance costly administrative duties. In 1624, Conway complained to Lord Treasurer Middlesex that even if he collected all the benefits of his post they would not cover half the amount it cost him.¹⁹¹ Income was raised by renting lands to tenants. Sir John Oglander claimed that in the elder Edward’s time, Ragley was worth about £800 in annual rents.¹⁹² Rent increased four times in value in this part of Warwickshire between 1610 and 1684.¹⁹³ The consequences included disgruntled and impoverished tenants: those on Conway’s lands not only threatened to leave, but even ‘cast down certain mounds and fences’ in frustration in 1625.¹⁹⁴ The typical rent for a property on Lord Conway’s land, like the one inhabited by Elizabeth Osbaston, her husband and children, seems to have been around £4 per annum; she was one of many to default on her payments.¹⁹⁵ Conway’s tenants were eventually placated, but it is interesting to note a parallel contemporary situation in London in July 1626, when Conway’s name appears on a list of those who refused to contribute to local highway repair in St. Martin’s-in-the-Fields parish.¹⁹⁶

The younger Edward Conway seems largely to have stayed away from Ragley. When not in Ireland, he lived in a number of London residences, for example one in Drury Lane and another in Durham House, behind the New Exchange on the Strand. In 1633 he was settling accounts of £20 with Richard Burges, an innkeeper in St. Martin’s-in-the-Fields.¹⁹⁷ A letter by Conway dated 31 October 1635 states that he ‘has taken two chambers in the Spring Garden [London], but must furnish them.’¹⁹⁸ The most notable house was on Queen Street, where he kept a literary salon of sorts, detailed in the next chapter. During the Commonwealth, Conway Castle, the family’s Welsh stronghold, in Conwy, south of Llandudno, was taken over by Parliamentary forces. In 1652 Conway was able to secure its return, on condition that ‘y^e. said Castle of Conway shall not bee made use of at anie tyme

¹⁹¹ SP 14/162/6 (2 April 1624). Cited in Conrad Russell, *Parliaments and English Politics 1621-1629* (Oxford, 1979), p. 65.

¹⁹² Oglander, p. 141.

¹⁹³ *VCH Warwick*, 3.14.

¹⁹⁴ SP 16/30/4 and 4.i, Sir John Savage to Conway, 15 June 1625.

¹⁹⁵ SP 16/14/76, petition of Elizabeth Osbaston to Conway, undated 1625.

¹⁹⁶ SP 16/32/112, list sent to the Earl of Dorset, [July?] 1626.

¹⁹⁷ SP 16/238/59, Conway to Richard Burges, of St. Martin’s-in-the-Fields, innkeeper, 11 May 1633.

¹⁹⁸ George Gater and Walter H. Godfrey (eds.), *London County Council Survey of London*, 20 vols. (1940), 10.59.

to y^e. preiudice of y^e. Commonwealth’, and that he and his son enter into a bond of £3,000 as surety.¹⁹⁹ It is interesting to note that Conway Castle is rarely mentioned in the surviving correspondence.²⁰⁰

One of the functions of the Warwickshire estate was to serve as a breeding and hunting ground for game. Conway’s principal manager at Ragley was his cousin Fulke Reed, who sent him regular updates about the state of his deer, dogs, birds of prey and horses. Reed was also in charge of updating his master about physical changes to the grounds and properties, for example the vines planted in Luddington by a Dutch vintner in June 1628 (suggesting that the family maintained non-military links with the Low Countries).²⁰¹ Other Warwickshire staff included William Neighbour and Edward Hughes, in charge of hunting birds, and Thomas Rice, brought in to advise about horses.²⁰² Bills for stable expenses at Ragley – around £16 per week – were presented in 1628 by the very English-sounding John Johnson and the rather more Italianate Francesco (‘Frank’) Manucci.²⁰³ The latter may have been recommended to Conway by Albertus Morton, Donne’s friend, in 1624, having formerly worked for Edward, Lord Wotton, Sir Philip Sidney’s friend.²⁰⁴

Edward Reed, a ‘cousen’ of Conway’s,²⁰⁵ seems to have had a significant administrative role between 1625 and 1627, at least.²⁰⁶ Anthony Connon or Cannon may have been a

¹⁹⁹ SP 25/28/35A, Council of State, day’s proceedings, 11 June 1652.

²⁰⁰ A 1626 plot of the castle survives in the Conway Papers at SP 16/525/99.

²⁰¹ SP 16/107/38, Fulke Reed to Sec. Conway, 15 June 1628. This was probably an attempt at economy as much as horticulture, since Conway was spending 13s. on the transportation of four gallons of white wine in May, when the wine only cost 2s. 6d.: SP 16/105/20, bill of Arthur Bray, 26 May 1628.

²⁰² See SP 16/171/75, statement by William Neighbour, [July?] 1630, complaining about ‘Martyn’, who had not been taking proper care of the horses. On 16 April 1632, Neighbour told Rawdon he had ‘served the late Lord 26 years’, suggesting he joined Conway’s service in 1606 (SP 16/215/48). For Neighbour’s care of hawks see SP 16/111/17, Rawdon to Conway, 27 July 1628 and SP 16/107/38, Fulke Reed to Conway, 15 June 1628. For Edward Hughes, see SP 16/172/79, Fulke Reed to Conway, 18 August 1629. For Thomas Rice, see SP 16/144/86, Rice to Conway, 16 June 1629; SP 16/168/93, Rice to William Weld, [June?] 1629.

²⁰³ Conway’s horse-stock had probably doubled, as he was only paying £8-£10 per week in 1625 and 1626. Stable bills presented to Lord Conway between 9 July 1625 and 18 October 1628 survive at SP 16/118/40, SP 16/119/94, SP 16/521/111, SP 16/523/10 and SP 16/523/20.

²⁰⁴ SP 14/165/74, Albertus Morton to William Chesterman, June 1624. Wotton lived for a time in Naples, which was commonly lauded for its skilled horsemen. A. J. Loomie, ‘Edward Wotton, first Baron Wotton’, *ODNB*.

²⁰⁵ SP 16/101/7, Conway to Edward Reed, 14 April 1628.

²⁰⁶ See e.g. SP 16/522/71, SP 16/525/51, SP 16/79/47, SP 16/82/18. SP 16/142/1 records Conway’s indemnification of Reed and Weld of bonds in which they had joined him for securing his debts.

deputy to Reed, while Philip Clough maintained Conway's hunting parks.²⁰⁷ Clough may have been related to William Clough, the man who made Conway's library catalogue in 1610 (see Chapter 2, pp. 60-1). Edward Hughes was a distinguished enough falconer at Ragley that he was sent to Conway in London in that capacity.²⁰⁸ An October 1629 codicil to Conway's will, which has been partly struck out, mentions the following men as additional servants: Walter Biland or Byland, Francis Egiocke, Ralph Allen, Samuel Houghton, Henry Willington, and John Gilpin.²⁰⁹ The younger Conway mentions 'an ancient servant' called Bessanger in 1635.²¹⁰

In his capacity as Secretary of State Conway employed a number of his own secretaries, though not all can be identified. Two of Conway's most trusted secretaries were William Chesterman and William Weld (or Wyld).²¹¹ Weld's accounts for February 1628 offer a rare glimpse into the elder Edward Conway's leisure activities, and included two items 'Delivered to your Lordship at play, 1*l.*', payments 'To one that brought your Lordship jelly from Mr. Ferris, 5*s.*' and 'To a juggler, 10*s.*', and a commission 'For drawing the plot of Ragley House, 8*s.* 6*d.*'.²¹² The elder Edward Conway appointed Sir George Rawdon as private secretary around 1625, and he later became later secretary and agent to both Conway's son and grandson, managing their estates in Ulster.²¹³ The second Viscount also employed Edward Burgh, Rawdon's cousin,²¹⁴ and Robert Read or Reed, former clerk to Secretary Windebank, to whom Reed was apparently related.²¹⁵ Fulke Reed, probably a relation of Robert, also stayed on the staff, carrying out his master's wish to give one client

²⁰⁷ Connon: SP 16/172/12, 3 August 1629. Clough: SP 16/89/44, estimate, by Philip Clough, for repairing the pales of Conway's parks, undated 1627; SP 16/144/53, Fulke Reed to Conway, 8 June 1629; SP 16/172/79, Fulke Reed to Conway, 18 August 1629; SP 16/172/102, Conway to Robert Greville, 28 August 1629.

²⁰⁸ SP 16/172/60 and 79, Fulke Reed to Conway, 14 and 18 August 1629.

²⁰⁹ PROB 11/160, fol. 410r-v.

²¹⁰ *HMC Cowper* (23), 2.84, George Verney to Sir John Coke, 26 June 1635.

²¹¹ For documents relating to Chesterman between 1621 and 1627, see: SP 14/122/94, SP 14/131/88, SP 14/140/30, SP 14/158/52, SP 14/163/75, SP 14/164/1, SP 14/165/74, SP 15/42/1, SP 16/41/43, SP 16/68/77, SP 16/75/77, SP 16/87/73, SP 16/88/21. Select documents in Weld's hand include: SP 16/522/118, SP 16/523/14, SP 16/153/77, and BL, Add. MS 33,935, fols. 130, 200, 202, 211, 216, 235, 237, 276, 287, 321.

²¹² SP 16/94/100, William Weld's accounts for Lord Conway from 29 December to 2 February 1628.

²¹³ R. M. Armstrong, 'Sir George Rawdon', *ODNB*.

²¹⁴ SP 16/326/21, 19 June 1636.

²¹⁵ See e.g. SP 16/331/6, 1 September 1636; SP 16/418/7, Thomas Windebank to his cousin [Robert Read], 19 April 1639.

a horse called, fittingly, Bedlam: ‘there is none lefte here now so bad as he’.²¹⁶ The second Viscount’s commissioning of two local men, William Chambers and Phillip Tandy (although both were born in England), as scribes is explored in Chapter 2, pp. 85-7. The younger Edward Conway kept a cook, Edward Richardson, and a master-cook, ‘Godfree’.²¹⁷

In order to understand John Donne’s presence in the Conway Papers, one must first consider the lives of the archive’s owners. This chapter has established the historical considerations that inform my later bibliographical analyses of Donne’s poetry. It is the most complete account to date of the Conway family in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, and includes previously unrecorded information about the family’s social connections and domestic administration that will inform future studies of their activities. Chapter 2 develops this family biography in greater detail by focusing specifically on the Conways’ numerous links to contemporary literary matters, in order to establish them as significant patrons and collectors.

²¹⁶ SP 16/204/17 [Conway] to Fulke Reed, 6 December 1631, and SP 16/204/71, Fulke Reed to Conway, 18 December 1631.

²¹⁷ SP 16/314/58, 22 February 1636.

Chapter 2

The Conways and Culture: Writers, Patrons and Collectors

As Chapter 1 shows, the key events in the Conways' lives often embody the lines of tension running through contemporary political and social debates. Sir John Conway (*d.*1603) was part of the generation forced to choose between a Catholic or a Protestant future for England, between Mary and Elizabeth. His son, the elder Edward Conway (*d.*1631), was a devout Protestant who developed his world-view in the garrisons of the Cautionary Towns, but who found his natural loyalties challenged when his patrons, the Duke of Buckingham and King James, attempted to marry the Prince of Wales to a Catholic princess, the Infanta of Spain. The younger Edward Conway (*d.*1655), a man who largely eschewed the religious debates of his time, was drawn into a different conflict, the power struggle between King and Parliament during the Civil War. Evaluating the influence of each Conway on literary and cultural developments of their time, such controversies emerge repeatedly. Chapters 3, 4 and 5 focus on the Conways' collection of literary manuscripts; this chapter concentrates on the family's other literary and cultural contributions, including their own writings, significant collections of printed books and personal friendships with writers, painters and musicians. It brings together for the first time all the known evidence about the family's patronage and collections, arguing that they were more closely connected to literary developments than has ever previously been acknowledged.

The first and second Viscounts Conway could draw on a legacy of literary fame. Sir John Conway was a published writer with two works in print, who also circulated and collected literature in manuscript. What follows is a necessarily brief introduction to his achievements.¹ 'Sir Iohn Conway Knyght to the readers in prayse of the Translator', was printed among the prefatory material to Sir Geoffrey Fenton's *Certain Tragickall Discourses* (1567; STC 1356.1). Fenton (*c.*1539-1608) began his career as a translator before taking administrative roles in Ireland, where his brother Edward (*d.*1603) served as a captain

¹ I am preparing a full account of Sir John Conway for separate publication.

under Sir William Pelham, whose family later joined the Conways through marriage. *Certain Tragickall Discourses* was dedicated to Lady Mary Sidney, whose husband, Sir Henry Sidney, was Lord Deputy of Ireland between 1566 and 1569 and again between 1575 and 1578.² Mary and Henry were the parents of Philip and Robert Sidney, who counted among Conway's comrades in the Netherlands. The presence of Conway's poem in this volume can be interpreted as a gesture of fidelity not just to his friend but to the recipients of the dedication. Sir John Conway also printed a devotional tract, the *Meditations and Praiers* (1569?; STC 5651), which he composed while imprisoned for his role in the Northern Uprising. The work is structured by acrostics repeatedly spelling out the letters ELIZABETH REGINA, essentially making the Queen the ordering principle of this devotional work, which went through several editions.

Sir John Conway exchanged manuscript poetry with Elizabeth Bourne (see Chapter 1, p. 21 and Chapter 3, pp. 117 and 125), to whom James Daybell has attributed the verse 'I hope, what happe? thy happie states retyre' and two rhyming fragments, which survive uniquely in the Conway Papers.³ Their letters indicate that he sent her poetry, a Latin history and (probably, printed) romances.⁴ Their correspondence (in BL, Add. MS 23,212), is highly revealing about the nature of private male–female relationships in the period, and about the role of literature in forming social bonds. Sir John Conway's papers also preserve a unique cache of manuscript poetry by and about Daniel Rogers, a friend of Sir Philip Sidney, Edward Dyer and Gabriel Harvey.⁵ Thirty manuscript separates now kept at the British Library and National Archives, and a 384-leaf folio volume, now in the Huntington, (HM 31188, the Hertford Manuscript, which contains 593 poems dedicated to more than 250 individuals), identify Conway as a serious collector of Rogers's verse.⁶ The Rogers

² Andrew Hadfield, 'Sir Geoffrey Fenton', *ODNB*. Fenton dedicated a 1570 work to Sir Henry, *A Discourse of the Civile Warres and Late Troubles in Fraunce*.

³ BL, Add. MS 23,212, fols. 104v, 193v and 199r. See also Chapter 1, p. 21. 'I hope, what happe?' is in Bourne's hand, but its contents ('I toyle, wherefore? to free yo' state from stryfe') suggest to me that she may have been the recipient, given her difficult living conditions, and Conway's known attempts to help her.

⁴ BL, Add. MS 23,212, fols. 144r, 135v and 152r.

⁵ H. R. Woudhuysen, 'Sir Philip Sidney', *ODNB*.

⁶ No Conway is mentioned in two principal Rogers resources, Jan van Dorsten's *Poets, Patrons, and Professors* (Leiden, 1962), and James E. Phillips's 'Daniel Rogers: A Neo-Latin Link Between the Pléiade and Sidney's "Areopagus"', in *Neo-Latin Poetry of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, papers by James E. Phillips and Don Cameron Allen (Los Angeles, CA, 1965), pp. 5-28. Mark Loudon's *ODNB* entry for

link, in turn, is suggestive about Sir John Conway's connections to the Sidney circle. How they arrived into the Conway Papers is not known, but there is, I think, a strong likelihood of direct personal contact. Rogers may have lived at or visited Ragley for a time, or Conway might have acquired his papers at a later date. Sir John Conway's literary influence was thus not confined to the works he wrote: the Conways were inveterate collectors, and the evidence suggests that Sir John initiated this habit among the family.

Edward, first Viscount Conway

Most contemporary reports about the elder Edward Conway's intellect and education do not depict a man of great learning or cultivation. 'In his youth', wrote Sir John Oglander, 'he was wild and never could endure his books, but ran away from school and went into the Low Countries'.⁷ Describing James's two ambassadors to Bohemia in the late 1620s, Arthur Wilson called Sir Richard Weston 'a man of a haughty spirit', and compared him to his colleague,

Sir Edward Conwey, a man of a grosser temper; bred a Soldier ... a rough impollished peice for such an imployment [i.e. the embassy]. But the King that wanted not his Abilities would often make himself merry with his imperfect scrouls in writing, and hacking expressions in reading, so that he would break into laughter, and say in a facetious way, Had ever man such a Secretary, that can neither Write nor Read?⁸

Conway's handwriting was so notoriously bad that a document in his name was once spotted as a forgery because the script was too legible.⁹ Nevertheless, he exerted a considerable influence on contemporary culture. A man with a demonstrable interest in music and painting, to whom works in both manuscript and print were dedicated, he also

Rogers cites the *Calendar of State Papers* but not the original documents, so it is possible that Loudon did not notice the pattern of Conway Papers stamps on the manuscripts themselves.

⁷ John Oglander, *A Royalist's Notebook*, ed. Francis Bamford (1936), p. 141.

⁸ Arthur Wilson, *The History of Great Britain Being the Life and Reign of King James the First* (1653), p. 133.

⁹ Bishop Laud wrote to Conway on 7 October 1628: 'There hath bene a proffer to print a certaine Booke in folio of English verses in the commendacion (as is pretended) of o^r late gracious & worthie ffriend the Duke of Buckingham [assassinated in 1628]. The pretendes to the press affirme they had leaue under yo^r Lor^{pps} hand. That I did desire to see; because his Ma:^{ties} chardge was strict ... that noe papers concerning my Lo: Duke should be suddainly printed. ... [T]he papers were brought mee by one whoe calls himself M^r. Darcie, & goes for the man that puts it to the press. There I sawe yo^r Lor:^{pps} hand ... but soe fairly written that after the party was gone wth his papers, it drewe mee into some jealousye.' SP 16/118/32.

owned a library containing significant religious and literary works. In later life Conway was responsible for the licensing of the press, and participated in court entertainments, which he collected in manuscript. Possessing at least a reading knowledge of Latin, Italian, French, Spanish and Dutch, Conway corresponded with poets, playwrights and translators from several countries and, like his father, he can be associated with members of the Sidney circle.

Conway must have continued an education of sorts among the garrisons of the Cautionary Towns, and instilled in himself an appreciation of the potential benefits that learning and culture brought to an ambitious soldier. Having served in and around the Brill for almost two decades, Conway made a concerted effort to ingratiate himself from a distance into the court of Prince Henry in 1611, by securing the services of a Low Countries painter. Possibly on his return to England in 1610 (see Chapter 1, p. 24, and below), Conway made contact with Adam Newton, the Prince of Wales's secretary. Writing to him in February 1611, Conway recorded his efforts to bring to London a Delft-based painter, Michiel Jansz van Miereveldt, 'the most excellent Painter of all the Low Countries,' in Peacham's estimation, 'who sometimes employed a whole year about a picture; and yet, after all, would destroy it, if he discovered any considerable fault in it'.¹⁰ Conway spent considerable effort attempting to secure Miereveldt's services. Conway and Noel de Caron worked together to convince the 'naturally phantasticall' painter to become official court painter to Henry, but 'the multitude of propositions' made by his suitors 'amased him', as Conway recorded in April 1611.¹¹ Miereveldt had established a lucrative studio in Delft and was procrastinating in the hope of greater remuneration. '[H]e loves himselfe, and his

¹⁰ Henry Peacham, *Complete Gentleman*, p. 110, cited in Thomas Birch, *The Life of Henry Prince of Wales, Eldest Son of King James I* (1760), p. 225. Cf. Roy Strong, *Henry, Prince of Wales and England's Lost Renaissance* (1986), pp. 115-16.

¹¹ BL, Harl. MS 7002, fol. 73. Cited by Birch, p. 479. The correspondence between Conway and Newton can be found in BL, Harl. MS 7002, fols. 69-70, 73-4, 105-10, 133-4, 142-3, 170-1 (all autograph), 178-9 (in a secretary's hand), 184-6, 196-7, 209-10, 215-16, 223-4, 233-4 (autograph). On 9 June 1611 (fol. 105) Conway refers to having received a letter from Prince Henry himself, apparently recommending him to 'the cownte' (Maurice of Nassau). Cf. C. White, *The Dutch Pictures in the Collection of Her Majesty the Queen* (Cambridge, 1982), pp. xvi-xvii.

acquayntance soe well, as hee can hardlie resolue, how to value his tyme, & his skill', Conway complained.¹²

There is some suggestion that Conway was not adept in his negotiations, both in the fact of his ultimate failure, and in his admission to Newton that he knew very little about painting:

I haue bin speakeing to buy some good pesses of paynteing but thes poepell will as easely be bowght owtt of theyre youmor of drinkeing as owtte of theyre affections to a picture. there was one pease at Rotterdam for the master workemans sake that made hit, of some reputation and was to be sowlde, and I glade to heare of a prissee sett apone a pease of worke that was ancient and recommended I bowght hit; and when it came homme, the storry invited me to present hit to you, that are secretary to the most hopefull powerfull and Glorius erthely Prince, hit beinge the representation of fowre the most faythefull Glorius and excellente secretaries, that euer was, to the infinite incomprehensible Prinse. I cane not judge the workemanship. if hit be good hit is as I wishe hit if hit be ordinary, lette hit serue for this to prove to you that I haue noe skill in anny kinde of paynteing. and that my arte is only singlenes of harte and playnnes[.]¹³

Despited his professed ignorance, Conway attempted to analyse the painting, drawing an explicit analogy between the patronage of Prince Henry and the grace of God, both of whom employed intermediaries – whether secretaries or saints – to broker requests for favour. In an interesting coda to this exchange of letters, Conway's wife was struck down with an illness, and they resolved to leave the Netherlands for a time to allow her to recuperate at a mineral-rich spa. Writing from The Hague on 29 June 1612, Conway informed Newton that they would be at Spa for some time, and that he was not to think Conway had ceased writing out of disgruntlement. By 8 August, he had returned and taken up the correspondence again.¹⁴ In the intervening time Conway had probably exchanged words with John Donne (see Introduction, pp. 7-9).

Conway's connections to Miereveldt did not end there. As Graham Parry explains:

¹² Harl. MS 7002, fol. 178. Conway to Newton, 14 February 1611. Cited in Birch, p. 499. For Miereveldt's success in Delft, see Quentin Buvelot (ed.), *Dutch Portraits* (2008), p. 26, Bob Haak, *The Golden Age*, trans. and ed. Elizabeth Willems-Treeman (1984), pp. 216-7, and Juliet Roding *et al.* (eds.), *Dutch and Flemish Artists in Britain 1550-1800* (Leiden, 2003).

¹³ BL, Harl. 7002, fol. 108r. Cf. Birch, p. 486.

¹⁴ BL, Harl. 7002, fols. 215r-v and 223r-v.

Eventually it was Miereveld[t]'s pupil Daniel Mytens who arrived in England under the patronage of Henry's friend Lord Arundel in 1618; he, together with Queen Anne's painter Paul van Somer, effected the transformation of style and modernisation of taste in portraiture that Prince Henry had desired to bring about.¹⁵

It may be significant that the only known surviving portrait of Conway has been attributed to Mytens. The portrait (see p. 58), now in private hands, is described in a Weiss Gallery Catalogue, where it is dated c.1620-5.¹⁶ Conway is identified by the family motto, 'Fide et amore', in the upper left corner of the painting, and the dating is based on Mytens's time in England. He became James's court portraitist in 1622 and remained pre-eminent until the arrival of Anthony van Dyck in 1632. Conway procured Mytens several commissions, and clearly took an interest in his professional advancement, suggesting a connection to his former master, Miereveldt.¹⁷ Around the same time, Conway developed a friendship with Abraham van der Doort, the painter who became the first Surveyor of the King's Pictures and curated Charles's private collection.¹⁸ Van der Doort had originally joined Prince Henry's household, and was passed on to Charles along with Henry's collection of artworks. In 1628, Conway procured van der Doort's warrant to be keeper of the King's cabinet room and a number of financial grants; he even intervened in van der Doort's love-life, writing to one Louysa Cole, a widow, urging her to marry the painter.¹⁹ Conway would never be a great collector like Arundel, or an agent as well informed as Wotton, but by the late 1620s he had established himself as a minor patron of at least two artists.

If a dating of 1625 for the Mytens portrait is correct, however, Conway would have been a very youthful 61-year-old, without a single grey hair and only a slight whitening of his beard. The portrait seems instead to show a man in his mid-40s, and as such may have been

¹⁵ Graham Parry, *The Golden Age Restor'd* (Manchester, 1981), p. 79.

¹⁶ Thanks to Catherine Weiss for answering my queries about this portrait.

¹⁷ A warrant to the exchequer to pay Daniel Mytens £125 for various paintings, by order of the Lord Chancellor, procured by Conway, 31 July 1626. Cited by Horace Walpole (ed.), *Anecdotes of Painting in England ... Collected by the late Mr. George Vertue* (1782), 2.13. I have not been able to identify the original document. For a summary of the documentary evidence of Mytens's painting activities in the English Court, see Charlotte C. Stopes, 'Daniel Mytens in England', *The Burlington Magazine*, 17 (1910), pp. 160-3.

¹⁸ Van der Doort catalogued the Prince's collections fully; see Oliver Millar, 'Some Painters and Charles I', *The Burlington Magazine*, 104 (1962), pp. 323-30, at p. 325.

¹⁹ Walpole, *Anecdotes of Painting*, 2.81-3.

Edward, first Viscount Conway, ? Michiel Jansz van Miereveldt

(Image – see hard copy)

painted around 1610. The Weiss catalogue concedes ‘it is conceivable that it was painted when Conway was on the continent, and indeed Miereveldt would perhaps have been a likely candidate’.²⁰ If this is the case, one would nevertheless expect a portrait of Conway to have been commissioned in 1625, the year he was created Baron, or in 1627 when he became Viscount, and I wish to present a possible candidate for such a painting. An undated portrait, once attributed to Miereveldt, of an anonymous but clearly wealthy and important sitter, now hangs in the Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, described as ‘Portret van een onbekende oudere man’ (portrait of an unknown old man).²¹ Miereveldt continued to paint English dignitaries well into the second decade of the seventeenth century: there is a possibility, therefore, that this silver-haired and wrinkled sitter, in his 60s, is the recently-ennobled Edward Conway.

The other known surviving picture of Conway, an engraving reproduced later in this chapter, does not provide a clear comparison, but one other depiction of him might shed light on the question. In her will, Conway’s widow Katherine left her step-son, the younger Edward Conway, a ‘goulden case sett with nyne dyamonds wherein is the picture of my said late lord and husband’.²² This miniature portrait remains to be found. Conway’s known interactions with painters suggest his increasing influence in the early seventeenth century. Conway’s rise to power from 1611, when he was attempting to ingratiate himself with Prince Henry’s court, to 1627, when he became Viscount and one of the most influential statesmen in the country, was unusual. Conway managed to educate himself in the ways of a courtier, despite having lived the rough life of a soldier. His attempts to understand the art world were complemented by an interest in music. Three inventories of his property list a number of musical instruments, including between them 13 lutes, two orpharions, two bass-voles and a cittern, suggesting that Conway employed a band of musicians.²³

²⁰ *The Courtly Image: Early Portraiture 1550-1680* (The Weiss Gallery, 2002), entry 14.

²¹ Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, www.rijksmuseum.nl/collectie/zoeken/asset.jsp?id=SK-C-12&lang=en (accessed 23 November 2010). The painting is now believed to be a copy of Miereveldt’s original, and has been painted over a 1589 portrait of a woman. I am grateful to Marrigje Rikken for her advice.

²² PROB 11/180, will of Katherine, Viscountess Conway.

²³ SP 14/57/110B (1610), SP 14/58/48A (1610) and SP 14/72/132 (1613).

The pre-eminent resource for charting Conway's self-education in this period is a list of books, entitled 'A cathalogue of such bookes / as were brought from Briell / And left at Raggely the / [] of [] 1610'.²⁴ It lists 213 items and is edited for the first time in Appendix 4. The catalogue proves that Conway collected a reasonably large library at his residence in the Cautionary Town; there may well have been more books that were not sent back on this occasion, and others that were stored separately at Ragley. The shipping of this valuable and heavy freight may have coincided with his mooted return to England in 1610. The following account is necessarily limited by space, but I intend to produce a full study of this resource in the near future. The catalogue offers a unique insight into Conway's intellectual development. The cataloguer, William Clough ('WCloughy') was familiar with books but not working to exacting standards.²⁵ For the most part, titles are copied faithfully, but sometimes just a single word from the title is given, or a non-specific description (e.g. entry 212, 'A ffrrench Testament'). For some other entries the author, title and name of translator are all included. Clough did not give places or dates of publication (unless they made up part of the title), making it hard to judge which editions Conway owned, but the range of possibilities is narrowed by the 1610 terminal date. The catalogue was not made as an ordering system, but rather a record of what had been sent to Ragley: the books are not arranged alphabetically by author or title, there are no generic groupings and there is no apparent pattern of formats, which would indicate the books had been shelved by size. On seven occasions apparent duplicates or triplicates (or perhaps multi-volume editions) are listed as separate items and are not listed adjacent to one another.²⁶ It seems unlikely that all these books were counted twice by mistake.

Six languages are represented in Conway's collection: English (87 entries), French (65), Italian (20 or 21), Latin (17) and Spanish (10 or 11). (It is not clear whether entry 22 is in Italian or Spanish.) There are a further 13 books in more than one language, most of them language aids like dictionaries and grammars, which represent the learning tools Conway assembled, and serve as a reminder of the confluence of cultures found among the Netherlands armies. Conway's interest in foreign lands is evinced by his collection of travel

²⁴ SP 14/57/114B; the square parentheses indicate blanks in the MS.

²⁵ SP 14/57/114B. Cloughy was still on the staff in 1614; SP 14/76/45 (13 March 1614).

²⁶ Entries 2/32, 22/27/146, 24/99, 29/84, 115/143, 161/184, 186/191.

writing. There are many books on history, particularly Roman history, and within the latter category many volumes were probably read for their insights into political manoeuvring and military strategy. A few volumes on science and husbandry probably feed into this group, as imparters of practical skills like medicine and farming. Conway's interest in English government and politics was informed by reports on parliamentary proceedings. His library is primarily biased towards books on theological debates, with an emphasis on anti-Catholic tracts. Perhaps most curious is the collection of poetry, drama and romance that Conway owned, published in several languages and deriving from numerous literary traditions. Jonson's *Sejanus*, possibly owned in duplicate, is the most prominent literary work. The catalogue primarily indicates Conway's personal literary, religious and political interests, and the intellectual debates for which he wished to prepare himself. It also stands as representative of the kinds of learning acquired in the Low Countries military outposts. Military tactics are, naturally, prominent, but Knowles rightly observes the 'Protestant emphasis' which appears 'even among the vernacular literary titles'.²⁷ Not only does the list attest to an intellectual social circle in which autodidacticism and book-acquisition were encouraged, it identifies Conway as an energetic reader of diverse materials. While the subsequent provenance of this library is not known, many were probably left to his son, and others apparently lent to local friends, including his minister Thomas Case.²⁸

For the next decade and a half, little evidence survives about Conway's learning or interest in literature, but with his rise to power in the mid-1620s he acquired a new kind of cultural role. Conway won major appointments in 1623, 1625, 1627 and 1628, and in this period he received a number of dedications in both print and manuscript. An unidentified figure who signed himself 'Tussanus le Marchant, Advocatus Armoricus', for example, sent Conway a Latin epigram in the form of an acrostic, probably in early 1626.²⁹ In translation, the poem reads as follows:

²⁷ James Knowles, 'Jonson's *Entertainment at Britain's Burse*', in *Re-Presenting Ben Jonson*, ed. Martin Butler (Basingstoke and London, 1999), pp. 114-51, at p. 124.

²⁸ The second Viscount, seeking out some missing volumes from his father's collection, noted that some were 'in M^{rs} Cases hands and also that M^r. Smiths Executor that was of Luddington have some that was lent him in his life tyme'. SP 16/204/17, Edward, second Viscount Conway to Fulke Reed, 6 December 1631.

²⁹ SP 16/525/97. I have found no evidence to link this man to Daniel Tossanus (1541-1602), the French theologian, although the similarity of name and country of origin is suggestive. See Appendix 5 for a transcription.

For that most illustrious, most admirable man Lord Edward Conway, Baron, and Maecenas most deserving of respect from all learned men. It is a noble thing (and deserving of suitable gifts) to help pious men in one's own country; but to take up foreign burdens of one's own accord is to raise such worthy labours to the stars. There have been, nonetheless, men who were your equals in virtue, men who were accustomed always to be patching up broken things: shall I speak now of the bountiful stock of that famous bloodline whose progenitor, by the power of the assembly and with Mars's approval, set himself loose from the earth and made his journey to the lofty stars? Heavenly power, O pre-eminent Baron, is kindly extending to you the same path, and Glory joins herself to you as a companion. Truly, your unbroken lineage, and your life's famous virtue, express a mind worthy of these immortal spirits. Live long, O happy and most worthy hero, while thus gratitude for your noble deeds rises on high, and Virtue herself will accompany you all the way to the stars.³⁰

'Advocatus Armoricus' means 'lawyer from Brittany', so Tussanus's poem establishes Conway's links to France, a territory with which he is not usually associated. The poet seems to have endured religious exile in La Rochelle, so was probably a persecuted Calvinist.³¹ Allowing for a degree of hyperbole, the poem's dedication also suggests that Conway was a greater patron than has previously been acknowledged. Even though the comparison is a commonplace, the choice of Maecenas, whose name was a byword for *literary* patronage, is significant. Hyperbole is certainly in evidence though: the 'famous bloodline' would seem to refer to the Romans, and the 'progenitor' to Romulus, whom legend decreed had become immortal in death. The acrostic poem marks a literary gift given in return for past favours, whereas another largely unknown man, Alexander Spicer, wrote 'An Epigramme on my Lord Conway' soon after he became Lord Conway, apparently in the hope of future patronage.³² Spicer was ordained priest and deacon on the same day, 25 February 1616, by Bishop John King,³³ but Spicer clearly understood the value of a relationship with his 'countrey-man' Conway, writing, in late 1625 or early 1626, that 'my riseing maie depend / upon the welfare of soe great a freind'.³⁴ Indeed,

³⁰ I am grateful to Edward J. Kelly for supplying me with this translation.

³¹ In the same hand, 'Tussanus le Marchante Advocatus Rupellensis exul' ('exiled lawyer of La Rochelle') signs BL, Add. MS 34,601, fols. 53-4, an undated six-line Latin poem dedicated to the antiquary Sir Henry Spelman (1563/4-1641). The mid-1620s saw increasing persecution of the Calvinist communities in this city, culminating in a series of Huguenot rebellions. The Duke of Buckingham's failed expedition to Rhé in 1627 was intended to support the uprising.

³² SP 16/1/21. See Appendix 5 for a transcription.

³³ *CCEd*.

³⁴ SP 16/1/21, [March?] 1625.

Conway later advanced the poet-preacher, asking Lord Keeper Coventry on 20 June 1626 to ‘take care of’ Spicer ‘for the conferring vpon him of some ecclesiasticall preferment’.³⁵

Others wrote to record Conway’s past achievements rather than expressing hope for his future benefaction. William Cross had been army chaplain in Sir John Ogle’s regiment in the Netherlands around the turn of the century, so was writing from experience when he listed Conway’s achievement in his poem *Belgiaes Troubles, and Triumphs* (1625).³⁶ The effect of Cross’s work is to memorialise a community of soldiers who fought valiantly against the Spanish in the Netherlands, a standpoint, as I will show, that seems to define Conway’s projected cultural persona around this time. Once he was in a position of administrative authority, people approached him as a defender of their ideological causes. For others – those excluded from the rewards of patronage – Conway represented part of the establishment that needed to be attacked. The anonymous author of a 1626 libel, ‘The Kinge and his wyfe the Parliament’ listed ‘Ragles Lord’ (i.e. Ragley’s Lord) among the creatures of Buckingham.³⁷ The libel represents the King’s treatment of parliament as being like a man’s infidelities to his wife: the ‘Villerian tribe’, Conway included, are chief among his mistresses. This disparity between Conway’s two perceived roles – obedient servant of the state and bastion of hope for a pro-Protestant national policy – reached its most interesting apex between 1623 and 1624, when tensions across the country were at their highest, and is vividly evinced in the mysteries surrounding Thomas Middleton’s 1624 play *A Game at Chess*, and its unforgiving commentary on Spanish foreign policy.³⁸

Don Diego Sarmiento de Acuña (1567-1626), later Count Gondomar, arrived in England in July 1613, destined to become ‘the most remarkable ambassador ever to have been accredited’ at the English court.³⁹ A highly cultured individual who owned the largest

³⁵ SP 14/214/35A.

³⁶ William Cross, *Belgiaes Troubles, and Triumphs* (1625; STC 6072), p. 1. Gordon Goodwin and Joanna Moody deem the work ‘a poem of little merit but some interest’, ‘William Crosse’, *ODNB*.

³⁷ Bod., MS Eng. poet. c.50, fols. 14r-15r. Quoted from *Early Stuart Libels*, eds. Alastair Bellany and Andrew McRae (Early Modern Literary Studies Text Series I, 2005), www.earlystuartlibels.net/htdocs/buckingham_at_war_section/Oi10.html (accessed 2 November 2010).

³⁸ The most recent edition of this play is in Thomas Middleton, *The Collected Works*, eds. Gary Taylor and John Lavagnino (Oxford, 2007).

³⁹ Glyn Redworth, *The Prince and the Infanta* (New Haven and London, 2003), p. 13. Cf. Redworth’s *ODNB* entry for Gondomar.

private library in Spain,⁴⁰ Gondomar proved himself expertly personable and became a confidante to the beleaguered King James. But not everyone was convinced about the integrity of this Catholic envoy. His payment of pensions to many British noblemen, including Buckingham, brought into question their loyalties, and it was soon clear that he had established an effective information network across court and country. Matters reached a dramatic crisis when one of Gondomar's aides warned him: 'Sir, your plot's discovered.' It had become apparent that the treacherous ambassador had been using his time in the English court to undermine as many relationships and institutions as he possibly could. Faced with this revelation, Gondomar had to think hard as to which of the 20,985 plots his assistant could be referring.

Of course, the number is a darkly comic exaggeration, and the exchange itself a satirical fiction, part of the denouement of *A Game at Chess* – a play which Secretary Conway was involved in suppressing. The scene itself is testimony to contemporary anti-Catholic, anti-Spanish prejudices provoked by James's recent attempts to marry Prince Charles to a Spanish princess. Middleton's dramatic representation of Spanish and English court machinations was the most popular play of the era, opening on 5 August 1624, running for nine consecutive nights at the Globe, and drawing some 30,000 spectators.⁴¹ Sir Francis Nethersole's updates to Dudley Carleton about the affair claimed that the King's Men had taken £100 per day, before they were shut down pending investigation after James had returned from his progress.⁴² The first three acts gave 'a chilling sketch of a realm [Britain] swarming with Jesuits and Spanish agents and of a king enchanted by the Spanish ambassador'.⁴³ One of the most notable features of the play was its outrageous portrayal of Gondomar himself, who was not only depicted as an immoral conniver but mocked for his physical disabilities. According to Chamberlain, 'they counterfeited his person to the life, wth all his graces and faces, and had gotten (they say) a cast sute of his apparell for the

⁴⁰ Held in Valladolid. Ibid., p. 13. Cf. 'Biblioteca del Palacio Real', in *The Oxford Companion to the Book*, eds. Michael F. Suarez and H. R. Woudhuysen, 2 vols. (Oxford, 2010), 2.994.

⁴¹ Thomas Cogswell, 'Thomas Middleton and the Court, 1624: *A Game at Chess* in Context', *HLQ*, 47 (1984), pp. 273-88, at p. 273. For this dating of the play, see T. H. Howard-Hill, 'Political Interpretations of Middleton's *A Game at Chess* (1624)', *YES*, 21 (1991), pp. 274-85, at p. 274.

⁴² SP 14/171/49 and SP 14/171/60, Nethersole to Carleton, 14 and 19 August 1624.

⁴³ Cogswell, p. 277.

purpose'.⁴⁴ At one point the ambassador's theatrical counterpart, the Black Knight, was paraded onstage on a chair with a hole cut from the seat to accommodate his anal fistula.⁴⁵

The primary target of *A Game at Chess* was not the ambassador himself, but a perceived threat from the cunning of the Spanish court in general. Gondomar, one of the most flamboyant and recognisable envoys from that court, stood as its representative. At a time when the country seemed under threat from Spanish influence at court and abroad, it must have seemed critical to many in London that popular distrust against the Spanish was maintained. Several historians have argued that the play could not have reached the stage, let alone run for so many consecutive days, without powerful protectors at court.⁴⁶ In his attempt to establish the courtly pressures behind the play Thomas Cogswell argues that in 1624, immediately after the Spanish Match had failed, no particular court faction was more likely than another to have sponsored the work or offered it protection.⁴⁷ Rather, for a brief period, all factions joined the nationwide relief about the collapse of proceedings and, indeed, shared in the revelry of Middleton's satirical attacks. John Chamberlain claimed that Sir Henry Wotton, Sir Albertus Morton, Sir Benjamin Rudyard, Sir Thomas Lake 'and a world besides' had all made personal visits to the theatre to see 'our famous play of Gondomar'.⁴⁸ One account even relates that a private performance was put on for the King himself.⁴⁹

Nevertheless, one group at Court was necessarily outraged by the play's contents: the current Spanish embassy, led by the ambassador extraordinary, Don Carlos Coloma, who called the work 'scandalous, impious, barbarous'.⁵⁰ The play was first performed on 5

⁴⁴ Quoted in N. W. Bawcutt (ed.), *The Control and Censorship of Caroline Drama* (Oxford, 1996), p. 72.

⁴⁵ See the title-page of Scott's *Second Part of Vox Populi*, reproduced in *A Game at Chess*, ed. T. H. Howard-Hill (Manchester, 1993), p. 47.

⁴⁶ 'Sir Henry [Herbert] licensed the play; but modern scholars are reluctant to believe that he would have done so without powerful backing, and have tried to identify a patron on whose behalf he was acting, though no clear evidence exists to point to anyone in particular ... [A]lthough *A Game at Chess* is the best-documented play of the early seventeenth century, we know very little of how it originated, and to what extent it was purely theatrical and to what extent part of a political campaign.' Bawcutt, p. 65.

⁴⁷ Cogswell, 'Thomas Middleton and the Court', *passim*.

⁴⁸ SP 14/171/66, Chamberlain to Carleton, 21 August 1624.

⁴⁹ John Wolley to William Trumbull, 28 August 1624. Berkshire County Record Office, Trumbull alphabetical correspondence, 48/137. Cited in *A Game at Chess*, ed. Howard-Hill, p. 207. Cf. Bawcutt, p. 68.

⁵⁰ SP 94/31, fol. 132, Coloma to James I, 7/17 August 1624. Cf. *A Game at Chess*, ed. Howard-Hill, p. 193.

August, and raised eyebrows almost immediately,⁵¹ but it took seven days for an edict to be issued from the king's court, on progress at Rufford, ordering the suppression of this 'very scandalous Comedie' which had taken 'the boldnes, and presumption in a rude, and dishonorable fashion to represent on the Stage the persons of his Matie. the Kinge of Spaine, the Conde de Gondomar, the Bishop of Spalato &c.'⁵² Enigmatically, the official cause given for cancelling the run – 'a commaundment and restraint given against the representinge [onstage] of anie moderne Christian kings' – was apparently an invented law.⁵³ The order was issued by Sir Edward Conway, whose responsibilities as Secretary of State included licensing of the press and the stage. On 21 August the Privy Council reported back to Conway on their interrogation of the 'principall Actors': the company were able to produce the 'ororiginall and perfect' manuscript playbook that they had submitted to the Master of the Revels, Sir Henry Herbert, endorsed in his own hand.⁵⁴ Conway duly sent this document to Whitehall so that Herbert could be confronted with it.

Conway ordered the Privy Council to

certifie his Matie what you find that comedie to bee, by whom it was made, by whom lycenced, and what course you thinke fittest to bee held for the exemplarie, and severe punishment of the present offenders, and to restrayne such insolent and lycencious presumption for the future.⁵⁵

He added that James did not want to damage the company financially, but did want to punish whichever person or persons were responsible. The King, he said, was 'vnwilling for ones sake, and only fault to punish the innocent, or vtterly to ruine the Companie'.⁵⁶ This injunction deserves further scrutiny. On the same day, the Lord Chamberlain (William

⁵¹ George Lowe, writing to Sir Arthur Ingram on 7 August 1624, suspected that the play would 'be called in and the parties punished.' *HMC Various* (55), 8.27. Bernard M. Wagner usefully collected contemporary references to the play, several of which I cite in the following account, in 'New Allusions to *A Game at Chesse*', *PMLA*, 44 (1929), pp. 827-34.

⁵² SP 14/171/39, Conway to the Privy Council, 12 August 1624. Cf. G. E. Bentley, *The Jacobean and Caroline Stage*, 7 vols. (Oxford, 1941-68), 2.9.

⁵³ SP 14/171/39. Taylor states as fact that 'James prohibited actors from portraying living kings' (*Complete Works*, p. 1778) but Howard-Hill correctly observes that the law is 'unknown to Chambers's and Bentley's theatrical histories' ('Political Interpretations', p. 278).

⁵⁴ SP 14/171/64, Lord of the Privy Council to Conway, 21 August 1624.

⁵⁵ SP 14/171/39, Conway to the Privy Council, 12 August 1624.

⁵⁶ SP 14/171/75, Conway to the Privy Council, 27 August 1624.

Herbert, Earl of Pembroke) ordered the Privy Council to ‘fynd out ye originall roote of this offence, whether it sprang from ye Poet, Players, or both’.⁵⁷ His words suggest a clearer meaning for Conway’s command, that the fault may have been due to an individual actor’s innovation to the original script, in which case it would be unfair to punish the author or the other actors. But neither Pembroke nor Conway could seriously have believed that only one individual among an acting troupe could have been responsible for the offence given, especially in a play that was repeated nine times. Any offensive display must have been a corporate act by the company. Modern commentators accept that the King’s Men were let off lightly, but none has noted how all the contemporary official documents relating to the case exhibit this apparent naïveté. Punishments for political transgressions could be severe: as one contemporary, John Wolley, declared, ‘assuredly had so much ben donne the last yeare, thei had everyman ben hanged for it.’⁵⁸ Middleton fled London, unsure how severe the penalty would be.⁵⁹ But rather than punishing the company, James expressed paternal concerns about the actors’ ‘poore livelyhood and maintenance’. In the event, neither the actors nor Sir Henry Herbert was punished excessively. In fact, as Bawcutt notes, after their troupe was allowed to act again, by royal decree, they put on an unlicensed play, which has not survived, but whose title hints at further mischief: *The Spanish Viceroy*.⁶⁰

Why would this be? Woolley himself believed that ‘high powers I meane the P[rince]. and D[uke]., if not ... the K[ing].’ had authorised the play and Howard-Hill documents numerous subsequent conspiracy theories behind the play’s concoction. Ultimately, Howard-Hill rejects them all, deciding that ‘*A Game at Chess* was allowed and performed because it suited the temper of the age in a brief halcyon period of national unity.’⁶¹ None of his stated reasons for taking this view settles the question definitively, however, and several can be balanced with counter-objections. One does not require an all-encompassing conspiracy theory to suggest that the play received preferential treatment from the Revels:

⁵⁷ BL, Egerton MS 2623, fol. 28r, 27 August 1624.

⁵⁸ Berkshire County Record Office, Reading, Trumbull alphabetical correspondence 48/134, Wolley to William Trumbull, 20 August 1624. Cited in Howard-Hill ‘Political Interpretations’, p. 275, and *A Game at Chess*, ed. Howard-Hill, p. 203.

⁵⁹ SP 14/171/64, Council to Conway, 21 August 1624,

⁶⁰ N. W. Bawcutt, *The Control and Censorship of Caroline Drama* (Oxford, 1996), p. 66.

⁶¹ Howard-Hill, ‘Political Interpretations’, p. 285. It was performed without a licence, *A Game at Chess*, ed. Howard-Hill, p. 22.

this was clearly a politically sensitive work whose escape from censorship was surprising. Howard-Hill dismisses the idea of ‘plays as vehicles for political propaganda’ in order to argue against the necessity of a sponsoring court faction, but this view neglects high-profile instances such as Essex’s 1602 promotion of *Richard II*, the Privy Council’s paranoid response to Jonson’s *Sejanus* in 1603 and any number of court masques. Howard-Hill thinks it inconceivable that a play could be produced to order in a short period of time, and that this too counts against the notion that the play was commissioned.⁶² However, a full ten months had passed between Charles’s return from Madrid and the play’s first night, allowing plenty of time for writing (it was entered in the Stationers’ Register on 12 June) and rehearsal.⁶³ Besides, Howard-Hill elsewhere acknowledges that the play could have been written some time before it was performed, only reaching the stage when this was deemed safe.⁶⁴

None of my counter-objections proves that the play *was* specifically commissioned by a patron, but they do indicate that the matter is not yet closed. Gary Taylor dismisses suggestions that a patron smoothed the play’s passage past the censor: ‘By positing a patron, critics have tried ... to fold the play back into the old politics of faction, when in fact it heralds the new politics of ideology.’⁶⁵ Whether or not one agrees with Taylor that faction and ideology are mutually exclusive concepts, a highly controversial play would nevertheless require high-level support, perhaps from an ideologically driven courtier who did not want a Spanish Catholic queen. Cogswell’s analysis usefully bridges this gap. Regarding the identity of a hypothetical patron, Cogswell did not, as Howard-Hill says, claim *A Game at Chess* was sponsored by ‘the anti-Spanish party’,⁶⁶ but instead proposed that factions across court were united against a common enemy, and political partialities temporarily dissolved. But what of an individual patron? Howard-Hill is right to observe

⁶² Howard-Hill, ‘Political Interpretations’, p. 282-3.

⁶³ The prologue to Jonson’s *Volpone* claims that ‘five weekes fully pen’d it’, indicating that five weeks was an unusually short, but not impossible, amount of time to compose a play. *The Workes of Beniamin Ionsen* (1616), sig. Pp3r (p. 449).

⁶⁴ *A Game at Chess*, ed. Howard-Hill, pp. 9-10.

⁶⁵ *Collected Works*, p. 1777. Just three pages earlier, Taylor states precisely the opposite, that the play ‘epitomizes the politics of faction’, (p. 1774, my emphasis). Taylor and Lavagnino present two editions of the play, designated *An Early Form* (pp. 1773-824) and *A Later Form* (pp. 1825-85). Quotations have been taken from the introduction to each.

⁶⁶ Howard-Hill, ‘Political Interpretations’, p. 282.

that ‘not an iota of documentary evidence’ survives to tie any one person to a hypothetical commission.⁶⁷ However, this does not validate the conclusion of his 1991 article that the play was ‘allowed ... because it suited the temper of the age’: no document will ever be discovered in which the Master of the Revels cites ‘the temper of the age’ as a reason for licensing a play.⁶⁸ More convincing is Howard-Hill’s 1993 analysis that Henry Herbert could rely on the protection of his predecessor, immediate superior, fellow Protestant and kinsman, Pembroke, to license the play, though this does contrast with his earlier opinion (1991) that there was no conspiracy afoot. I do not wish to propose a solution to the conundrum about the play’s secret supporters – whether they included Pembroke, Buckingham, someone else or no-one at all – but I do wish to present evidence about Edward Conway that has not been considered with regard to this question.

As Secretary of State, Conway’s duties were manifold. He took over some responsibilities for the book trade in the mid-1620s, becoming involved, for example, in the suppression of a libel about Scottish ministers early in 1624.⁶⁹ Eventually he would relinquish most of his duties to Georg Rudolf Weckherlin, who worked for him from November 1625.⁷⁰ Conway also had duties to Buckingham, to whom he owed his fortune and position. Any conspiracy theory involving Buckingham in this period must take into account Conway’s agency. Furthermore, Conway had several vested interests in Spanish negotiations. By temperament he was a staunch opponent of Catholicism; on a practical level, he had both emotional and

⁶⁷ Ibid. p. 281.

⁶⁸ Equally unsatisfying is Taylor’s claim that Herbert could not have fully *understood* the play, *Collected Works*, p. 1826. Taylor argues that Middleton’s play ‘anticipates that it will be censored ... creating a text designed to make news of censorship’, *ibid.*, p. 1776. To me, Taylor’s reading is over-determined by Foucauldian power discourses and does not offer a sufficiently nuanced account of Jacobean censorship. If my interpretation withstands scrutiny, the events surrounding *A Game at Chess* seem to indicate that state censorship was itself a flexible concept.

⁶⁹ SP 14/214/39D, fol. 56 (minute in Conway’s Letter Book), Conway to Lord Keeper Lincoln. Cf. the reply at SP 14/159/40 (15 February 1624), ‘The onely waye to fynde out the Auctor, is to Imploye m^r. Bill (as I haue donne in parte) to fynde out, by the letters [i.e. the fount], where the book was printed’. Bill is the printer John Bill whose correspondence with Conway around this time survives at SP 14/214/69F (28 July 1624) and SP 14/171/11 (3 August 1624), though neither letter alludes to bibliographical detective work of this kind. W. W. Greg lists Conway as having licensed just two books, a life of Nero (STC 3221), and Sir Thomas Ryves’s naval history (STC 21474). *Licensers for the Press* (Oxford, 1962).

⁷⁰ S. A. Baron, ‘Georg Rudolf Weckherlin’, *ODNB*. Weckherlin endorsed some of Conway’s letters, e.g. SP 16/103/24 (5 May 1628) and SP 16/106/54 (7 June 1628). Conway sent him some silk stockings in August 1630 (SP 16/172/52). Many of Weckherlin’s papers are kept among the Trumbull Papers at BL, Add. MSS 72242-620.

political reasons to oppose the Spanish, against whom he had fought to protect northern Europe for so many years. Yet he was not blind to the workings of court favour, and when his patron looked to be negotiating a political union that would vastly increase his influence, Conway followed him – publicly, at least.

Several writers appear to have recognised that Conway's position compelled him to work for a marital union that he must have opposed politically. When Richard Bruch, a clergyman, translated Johann Gerhard's devotional work *The Conquest of Temptations* in 1614, he dedicated it to Sir Thomas Vavasour and his wife, Mary. For the second edition, published, significantly, in 1623, he turned to Conway, calling for his patronage in striking terms:

It too commonly falleth out that dead parents children wander abroad unregarded, wanting protection. So falls it out with this little Infant, called *The Conquest of Temptations*, but of seven yeares age in our Language; and being much inquired after, hauing beene but once at the Presse, is now to seeke a new Patron. For the matter it best befitteth the Servants of the euer liuing God: and since it hath beene the will of that High Power, to grace you so much in our Soueraignes eyes, as to call you to a place of great service, both for the glory of Christ, our Soueraignes good, and Common-wealth, to the generall reioycing of all religious hearts; it comes a begging to your doore for Patronage: examine it, and as you finde it a consolation to your soule, when your houres of deuotion shall grant your eyes blessed leasure to behold it, I make no doubt but you will fight a good fight, and ouercome the mortall enemie of the Spirit, as God hath giuen you the title and honour of a Souldier in this earthly Tabernacle.⁷¹

Bruch aligns Conway's role as a soldier on earth with the spiritual battle that forms the subject matter of his book, and implicitly establishes Conway as the correct patron specifically because of his religious convictions. In the context of the Spanish Match the message seems quite clear: Conway's fight was no longer on the battlefields of Zeeland, but in the negotiating chambers of St. James's. It is fitting that when 171 'Popish books' were confiscated from a Spanish priest at Dover in August 1623, they were sent to Conway for inspection.⁷²

⁷¹ Johann Gerhard, *The Conquest of Temptations*, trans. Richard Bruch (1623), STC 11768. Bruch is not found in a search of the State Papers Online.

⁷² SP 14/151/82, SP 14/151/83, SP 14/152/42.

It was a battle that many felt was in Conway's grasp, judging from another dedication – dating, again, from 1623. Fernando de Tejeda (or Texeda; b.1595), a Spanish monk, used his book *Texeda Retextus* publicly to revoke Catholicism. A Spanish preacher compelled to leave Spain for matters of conscience, Tejeda's real name was Tomás Carrascón de las Cortes y Medrano; like other discontented Spanish religious figures, such as Cipriano de Valera and Antonio del Corro, he moved to England and became an Anglican cleric.⁷³ Tejeda moved to England for unknown reasons in 1620 and in 1623 completed his translation into Spanish of the *Book of Common Prayer*. Suffering from extreme poverty during the final stages of his scholarship, Tejeda turned to Conway, who petitioned on his behalf at least three times. Vouching for the monk, Conway revealed he had had 'knowledge ... of his conversacion for some time while hee was in my house for his releefe when hee first came over'.⁷⁴ The two men may have been introduced by Dutch clergymen: *Texeda Retextus* was endorsed by, among others, John Regius and Ambrose Regermorterus from London's Dutch stranger church.⁷⁵

In 1623, when it seemed wholly possible not just that England would have a Catholic queen, but that there was a danger of Charles himself converting, Tejeda's dedication sent a powerful message.⁷⁶ Conway was not just a man of 'feruent zeale to the reformed religion', but a patron of men who actually converted the other way, to Protestantism. The concentration of poems and dedications from 1623 illustrates an upswelling of literary involvement for Conway at this time. In the context of Conway's growing stature as a patron, especially of writers with anti-Spanish sympathies, and his regular acquisition of

⁷³ Rady Roldán-Figueroa, 'Religious Propaganda and Textual Hybridity in Tomás Carrascón's 1623 Spanish Translation of the Jacobean *Book of Common Prayer*', *SC*, 25 (2010), pp. 49-74, at p. 49. I am grateful to Dr. Roldán-Figueroa for sharing this article with me before publication.

⁷⁴ SP 14/154/87, Conway to the Lord Mayor, 27 November 1623. Conway's two other petitions are at SP 14/214/34A (to Sir Thomas Middleton, 17 November 1623) and SP 14/214/74B (to Bishop Laud of Bath and Wells, 14 October 1626). Tejeda became canon at Hereford Cathedral on 26 June 1623 and stayed there until 1631, apparently appointed thanks to the patronage of John Williams, Bishop of Lincoln and James's Lord Keeper. Tejeda's degree from the University of Salamanca was incorporated at Oxford on 4 August 1623. Roldán-Figueroa, p. 52.

⁷⁵ Roldán-Figueroa, p. 52. Given Conway's apparent friendship with John Donne, his known support of Catholic converts seems particularly apposite. Cf. Lady Conway's bequest to the Dutch church in her will, Chapter 1, pp. 32.

⁷⁶ Fernando de Tejeda, *Texeda retextus: or The Spanish Monke His Bill of Diuorce Against the Church of Rome Together with other Remarkable Occurrances* (1623). Tejeda's *Scrutamini Scripturas: The Exhortation of a Spanish Converted Monke* (1624), was dedicated to the Bishop of Lincoln. *Miracles Vnmasked* (1625) a treatise denouncing Catholic belief in miracles, was dedicated to John, Earl of Bridgewater.

manuscript poems and dramatic entertainments, it is particularly significant that he owned a scribal copy of Middleton's 1622 *Barkham Entertainment*.⁷⁷ Conway may have acquired this entertainment in connection with his appointment by Barkham, alongside Donne, as an honorary member of the council of the Virginia Company in 1622 (see Introduction, p. 6). This document suggests that Conway patronised Middleton just two years before *A Game at Chess* was first staged. Conway's copy of the *Barkham Entertainment* is in the hand of Ralph Crane, who is associated with a number of Middleton's presentation manuscripts. Textual evidence presented by Howard-Hill and F. P. Wilson shows that Crane and Middleton worked together in their search for patronage.⁷⁸ Suggestively, three manuscripts of *A Game at Chess* have survived in Crane's hand: these include the Archdall–Folger MS V.a.213 at the Folger Shakespeare Library, the British Library's Lansdowne MS 690 and MS Malone 25 in the Bodleian. Crane was probably responsible for circulating the Bridgewater-Huntington manuscript of *A Game at Chess* now among the Ellesmere Papers at the Huntington (EL 34.B.17), one of the few surviving witnesses of Middleton's hand.

Critics have noted that the play circulated in manuscript because of the ban on theatrical performance.⁷⁹ But manuscript copies also circulated because an existing network of authors, scribes and readers produced and demanded them. Writers like Middleton could work closely with their scribes: Crane's earliest known transcription is of Jonson's *Pleasure Reconciled to Virtue* (1618), a manuscript that may have been made under Jonson's direction.⁸⁰ Crane sometimes signed his copies, suggesting that he was, or wished to be, perceived as an integral and credit-worthy participant in the manuscript publication of these texts.⁸¹ The Privy Council injunction against *A Game at Chess* may have caused scribal copies to flourish, therefore, but the demand for such documents and the infrastructure to provide them already existed, as Conway's ownership of *Barkham* shows.

⁷⁷ SP 14/129/53, titled 'Invention for the Service of the Right Honourable Edward Barkham, Lord Mayor'. As James Knowles has observed, this manuscript must once have been kept with the anonymous, untitled play he identifies as the 'Running Masque' of c.1619–20 (B11, fols. 3r–8r). The two documents, both in the Conway Papers, share similar water damage. Knowles, 'The Running Masque Recovered', *EMS*, 8 (2000), pp. 79–135, at p. 85. The work is entitled *An Invention* in Taylor and Lavagnino, *Collected Works*, pp. 1446–7.

⁷⁸ F. P. Wilson, 'Ralph Crane, Scrivener to the King's Players', *Library*, 4th ser. 7 (1926–7), pp. 194–215.

⁷⁹ E.g. Harold Love, 'The Manuscript after the Coming of Print', in Suarez and Woudhuysen, 1.115–19.

⁸⁰ Howard-Hill, *Ralph Crane and Some Shakespeare First Folio Comedies* (Charlottesville, VA, 1972), p. 9.

⁸¹ See e.g. the title page of Bod., MS Rawl. poet. 61, which notes it was 'written by R. C.'.

Alternatively, Conway may have acquired the manuscript prior to performance to check it for seditious material. This argument has been made by Grace Ioppolo about Conway's copy of Jonson's *Entertainment at Britain's Burse*, a show commissioned by Cecil for the opening of the New Exchange on the Strand in 1609. James Knowles, who discovered the manuscript in 1999, believed it was sent to Conway soon after the performance, and that its haphazard transcription can be explained as a result of hurried preparation, possibly by Jonson himself. That it was sent to him is certain from the endorsement 'for S^r Edward / Conway knight'. Ioppolo has made a careful study of the manuscript's physical features, concluding: 'That Jonson would want this manuscript to serve as anything but a preliminary, uncorrected copy is very difficult to accept.'⁸² Instead, she suggests that 'the partial copy was to be sent to Conway *before* its performance, possibly for his approval'.⁸³ In support of this argument, Ioppolo cites Conway's involvement in the Barriers of 6 January 1610, to which Jonson contributed *The Entertainment at Prince Henry's Barriers* – but this argument does not fit the facts of Conway's life. Rather than being 'ambassador to the Brill' (as Ioppolo states) he was permanently stationed there, with primarily military duties. There is no evidence to show that Conway, a soldier garrisoned in the Netherlands, was involved in authorising plays for the Prince's Barriers in London. Conway was certainly trying to manoeuvre himself towards the Prince's court at this time, but his involvement in the Barriers was a concession to his recent disappointments in the Cautionary Towns.

Passed over for the governorship of Brill, Conway returned immediately to London to receive assurance of the government's faith in him, and was vaguely promised an embassy as reward for his duty. He was probably invited to join the Barriers as part of the conciliatory gestures made towards him at this time, and to demonstrate his increasing proximity to the prince's court. In addition to his 1610 library catalogue, Conway's ownership of three other entertainments in manuscript argues a general interest in drama. He was probably sent extracts from Jonson's *Entertainment at Theobald's* by Sir Henry Goodere in 1607, and Sir John Davies's *Harefield Entertainment* even earlier, in 1602.

⁸² Grace Ioppolo, *Dramatists and their Manuscripts in the Age of Shakespeare, Jonson, Middleton and Heywood* (London and New York, 2006), pp. 159-67; quotation from p. 167.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. 165.

Again, there is no reason to think that these were pre-performance copies requiring Conway's authorisation. His copy of the anonymous 'Running Masque' probably dates to 1619; since Buckingham himself took part as one of the actors, the manuscript seems to represent part of Conway's collection of material relating to his patron.

Conway's copy of Middleton's *Barkham Entertainment* is the only one of his manuscript masques or entertainments that could credibly have been sent prior to performance, but its formal style and professional production by Crane suggests rather that it was a scribal presentation copy. Most significantly, the presence of *Barkham* in his papers raises the possibility that Conway was one of the author's hitherto unrecognised patrons. It would take a much more substantiated argument to prove that Conway played any part in bringing *A Game at Chess* to the Globe, but this anonymous engraving, the Council of War of 1624, may represent a final piece of evidence to link him to the events surrounding the play.⁸⁴



⁸⁴ Collected Works, p. 1777. For a transcript of the poem beneath the engraving, see Appendix 5.

Marble floors like the one depicted here were common, but Gary Taylor proposes that the chessboard pattern may have been chosen because *A Game at Chess* had made the metaphor of statecraft as chess-play so vividly accessible. Taylor's suggestion is a little playful, of course, but perhaps it is no coincidence that the fifth council member listed in this picture is the elder Edward Conway.

Edward, second Viscount Conway

The first Viscount Conway, I have argued, acquired books as part of a strategy of self-education that was closely associated with his political advancement and religious beliefs; his involvement in literary controversies in later life was predominantly tied to the political events that prompted those artistic reactions. His son, in contrast, had a rather different approach to life, in which distraction and frivolity were encouraged for their own sake:

When we doe not hunte we hawke, and in both these Muckle Jhon and Jefferey are great actors, the rest of the time is spent in Tennis, Chesse and dice, and in a worde we eat and drinke and rise up to play; and this is to liue like a Gentleman for what is a Gentleman but his pleasure[?]⁸⁵

Whether gaming, hunting or being entertained by the court dwarves (Mickle John and Jeffery Hudson), Conway was sure to surround himself with comforts and luxuries – fabrics, candies, pedigree horses and birds, even ambergris sausages.⁸⁶ He employed a band of musicians to entertain him on his Irish estates.⁸⁷ His many literary friends were well placed to act as agents, and often acquired goods on his behalf, sending them to him along with recent gossip and scandalous poems circulating in manuscript. To be friends with Conway, it would seem, one required primarily a robust sense of humour and a secret stash of ribald manuscript poetry. Yet his apolitical gentlemanly stance was itself political, and

⁸⁵ BL, Add. MS 70,002, fol. 182r, Conway to George Gerrard, 26 February 1638. Cf. *HMC Portland* (29), 3.52. I take my quotations from the original manuscripts, but I also provide HMC citations for ease of reference. Jeffery Hudson was a dwarf (R. Malcolm Smuts, *ODNB*); 'Muckle' seems to mean 'mickle' (*OED*, *adj.* 3), a Scottish word for 'great', so probably a joke name for another court dwarf called John, though the *ODNB* lists no dwarf called John in this period.

⁸⁶ W. M., *The Queen's Closet Opened*, 4th edn. (1658), sig. E2r (p. 99). For a recreation of this particular delicacy, see www.historicfood.com/English%20Puddings.htm. Thanks to Ivan Day.

⁸⁷ One of these, Thomas Richardson, petitioned to stay in Ulster as Conway's tenant when the band became 'like to break company' in 1644. SP 63/255, fol. 34 (to Lord Conway), 9 February 1644. See also Alan J. Fletcher, *Drama, Performance, and Polity in Pre-Cromwellian Ireland* (Cork, 2000), pp. 240-1.

Conway aligned himself with the old order, regularly expressing distaste for Parliamentarians and even agitating on behalf of the King in exile.

Intellectual history primarily remembers the second Viscount Conway for his famous daughter-in-law, Anne, née Finch, the foremost female philosopher of the seventeenth century. Even a cursory glance at his correspondence, however, reveals many familiar names from seventeenth-century literature, science and the court. The second Viscount has a special relevance to this study because he was personally acquainted with John Donne junior, son of the poet at the heart of this thesis, a friendship I have detailed elsewhere.⁸⁸ A series of letters from the younger Donne to Conway reveals that they both associated with Sir John Denham and Sir William Davenant and were intimately acquainted with these men's writing habits.⁸⁹ The most revealing of Donne's statements indicates that Conway, a man not otherwise known for his literary writings, contributed to the group composition of poems. Donne wrote to Conway in summer 1652 with an amusing anecdote about Davenant, who had been imprisoned in Cowes Castle on the Isle of Wight in 1650, and transferred in 1651 to the Tower, where he stayed until October 1652.

Donne recounts the arrival of a new prison officer, 'Bakster', almost certainly John Barkstead (*d.*1662), who was appointed lieutenant of the Tower in August 1652.⁹⁰ Barkstead, hearing that a famous writer counted among his wards and envisaging the comic potentials of the situation, forced Davenant to dress up as a vatic poet and recite his verses, especially the ones which lauded his own work. In case he refused, Barkstead (as part of the joke) threatened to burn the manuscripts of *Gondibert* which Davenant was working on in prison. Donne sent Conway 'some Verses made in iest' about the imprisonment, which joked that Davenant had not been locked up for political reasons but as punishment for his appalling verses: 'Thow lyest not there for anie Plott / but 'cause a Poett thou art not'. Donne's letter is proof that Conway personally enjoyed the company of the Davenant circle – he had 'formerly hearde' Davenant sing his song – and that he actively contributed to

⁸⁸ Smith, 'Busy Young Fool, Unruly Son?'.
⁸⁹ The letters survive as follows: Geoffrey Keynes, *A Bibliography of Dr John Donne*, 2nd edn. (Cambridge, 1914), p. 165 (two letters, now lost, both recorded here); UCL Special Collections, Ogden MS 31; WCRO, CR114A/793; private collection of Lord Egremont, Petworth House; SP 46/96, fols 213-14.

⁹⁰ SP 46/96, fols 213-14. Cf. Smith, *op. cit.*

their poetical gatherings. Not only does Donne suggest ‘the verses might haue bin farr better’ if Conway had been involved, he explicitly invites his patron to ‘mend’ (i.e. improve) the lines and return them in time for publication.

The incident is revealing both about Conway’s social circle and about his means of acquiring manuscript verse. Donne recounted that he had been sent the poem ‘by my goode Lord Lumley in a dosen of bottles’ of Northdown ale and sack.⁹¹ Richard Lumley (*bap.*1589, *d.*1661x3), first Viscount Lumley of Waterford, had evidently provided for a night of carousing. The circulation of this verse can stand as a synecdoche for a larger social endeavour. Donne’s friends would gather to compose poems and songs; the manuscript Lumley included with the alcohol was his contribution *in absentia*, and by forwarding a copy to Conway after the event, Donne included him in the gathering. As such, this manuscript offers evidence of a loosely defined coterie or club that conceived of poetry and balladry as social facilitation, expressions of wit that represented shared values and humour, and occasioned a continuing correspondence beyond physical gatherings. Most of the younger Conway’s manuscripts are separated from the letters that once enclosed them, but they can almost all be read in the light of this notion of communality. Conway’s extensive libraries, too, indirectly evince his sociability and tendency to form networks of contacts who could help him locate and purchase books. Conway’s character and his literary activities, therefore, can inform one another.

The second Viscount Conway can be associated directly with many literary figures, and, as representatives of his network, they constitute the best place to begin a study of his literary connections. Conway’s friends included a group of royalist poets that gathered in London, composing witty and lewd verse. Timothy Raylor has carefully detailed the literary activities of Sir John Mennes and James Smith, former soldiers who participated in a literary club called the Order of the Fancy in the 1640s and 1650s, ‘a subcourtly body, centred around the Blackfriars Theatre’. Their ‘practise was to drinke excessively, and to speake non sence’, according to one contemptuous contemporary, and Conway appears to

⁹¹ SP 46/96, fols 213v.

have acted as their patron.⁹² Conway hosted meetings of the Order of the Fancy at his house in Queen Street (near Lincoln's Inn Fields), according to a poem dated 27 December 1640, by Smith, who served as Conway's chaplain:

From *London* where the snow hath bin
As white as milke, and high as shin
From Viscount *Conwaies* house in street
Of woman Royall, where we meet[.]⁹³

The next poem in the volume is subscribed 'From house of Viscount *Conway*, where / *Kenelme* hath food', which helps place Sir Kenelm Digby at the gatherings.⁹⁴ Thomas Pope, second Earl of Downe, also lived with Conway at this time,⁹⁵ and Sir John Suckling probably attended these meetings, too. A 1641 tract, *Nevvs from Sir John Svcklin* [sic] (Wing N1002), is subtitled *Sent in a Letter to the Lord Conway, now being in Ireland*. Their precise relation remains unclear, and I have not found a manuscript original of this text, although Suckling's poems are represented in the Conway Papers (B11, fols. 24r-25r, 126r-v). Suckling had served under Conway at Rhé, and Digby had been lieutenant of the *Garland* in 1634, implying that the group coalesced during their time in the military.⁹⁶ Both Mennes and Smith served at Rhé, where they seem to have become acquainted with Davenant, Suckling, Herrick and John Weeks.⁹⁷ Other members of the Order may have included Philip Massinger, the comic actor Tom Pollard,⁹⁸ Endymion Porter's brother Thomas, the elder John Donne's friend George Gerrard, and the painter Anthony van Dyck,

⁹² Timothy Raylor, *Cavaliers, Clubs, and Literary Culture* (1994), pp. 21, 60. Cf. Raylor, 'James Smith', *ODNB*.

⁹³ 'Mr. Smith, to Captain Mennis then commanding a Troop of Horse in the North, against the Scots.' (lines 37-40), in *'Musarum Deliciae' (1655) and 'Wit Restor'd' (1658): Facsimile Reproductions*, ed. Timothy Raylor (Delmar, NY, 1985), p. 82.

⁹⁴ 'The same, to the same' (lines 63-4), *ibid*, p. 82.

⁹⁵ Raylor, *Cavaliers, Clubs*, p. 92.

⁹⁶ A letter from Suckling to Conway, dated May 1640, is reproduced in *Sir John Suckling's Poems and Letters from Manuscript*, ed. Herbert Berry (Ontario, 1960), p. 108. Suckling says his patron (i.e. Conway) 'imitates the great and highest Agent, who is neuer so biusied wth gouerning heauen and the nobler parts of the world, as that hee neglects the Lower and Lesse Considerable.' This letter is now privately owned.

⁹⁷ The latter two men are not prominent friends of Conway. Incidentally, although he is not mentioned in these men's surviving correspondence, a fellow captain at Rhé was George Donne, another son of the Dean of St. Paul's, sergeant major, and chief commander of all the forces in the Isle of St. Christopher.

⁹⁸ SP 16/485/15.

to whom Conway sent a manuscript copy of Franciscus Junius's treatise *De Pictura Veterum*.⁹⁹ Indeed, van Dyck painted the only known portrait of Conway (see p. 80).¹⁰⁰

Raylor portrays the Order of the Fancy as the natural successor to the so-called 'Mermaid Club' of the previous generation. This amorphous group, whose membership probably included Donne and Jonson (see Chapter 4, pp. 156-60), exchanged jokes and poetry in London's taverns. Interestingly, as Raylor notes, Gerrard's name features in both the 'Mermaid Club' and Order of the Fancy, suggesting some continuity between the two gatherings. Between the 1630s and 1650s, Gerrard became a prolific newsletter-writer to the gentry and nobility, and Conway, who 'hungred' for news, was a regular correspondent.¹⁰¹ Both men passed the indiscreet missives they received around their friends, based on a common understanding about who would see the contents. Conway joked about the sensitive subject matter:

You shew my letters, I send you Virgins and you prostitute them, not [that I mind] that my Lady of Northumberland sees them or my Lady of Salisbury, for my letters are fæminine; weake; but you show them to my Lord Deputy [the Earl of Northumberland], peradventure to other Statesmen; they when I thinke I am Fooling, will thinke I am Foolish[.]¹⁰²

Conway asked Gerrard to restrict the circulation of his letters to a select audience:

All things in heauen and vnder the Moone keepe theire order ... doe you likewise in the shewing my letters keepe within due limits; let the reader be adæquated to the writing ... and let not my letters goe out of your hand vnlesse it be into the fire, who is the frend I trust with all the secrets written to me[.]¹⁰³

⁹⁹ Robin Blake, *Anthony Van Dyck* (1999), pp. 313-14. Apart from his friendship with Van Dyck very little surviving evidence attests to Conway's artistic interests.

¹⁰⁰ Copies of this portrait survive in an extra-illustrated (grangerised) edition of Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion*, compiled by Alexander and Charlotte Sutherland, after 2.110 (Ashmolean Museum, Print Room, shelfmark C.I.111). One is a quarto half-length drawing by Thomas Athow (fl.1806-22), which is followed by three stipple engravings of the same image by E. Bocquet (fl.1806-1841), and published by W. Scott.

¹⁰¹ Gerrard to Wentworth, 3 October 1635, in *The Earl of Strafforde's Letters and Dispatches*, ed. William Knowler, 2 vols. (1739), 2.467.

¹⁰² Add. MS 70,002, fol. 110r, *HMC Portland* (29), 3.36, Conway to Gerrard, 14 July 1636. Square parentheses here indicate my interpolations.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, fol. 110r-v. The nearest definition in the *OED* is 'Adequate' (*adj.* 2a): 'Commensurate in fitness; equal or amounting to what is required; fully sufficient, suitable, or fitting'.

Edward, second Viscount Conway, wash portrait after painting by Van Dyck

(Image – see hard copy)

In addition to news, Gerrard also sent Conway verses and books, and Conway responded in kind. On 18 September 1635, for example, Gerrard promised Conway an ‘excellent song wch privately passes about, of all the Lords and Ladyes in the Towne’;¹ on 8 July 1636, Conway sent Gerrard ‘a Poeme of a Westernne Gentlewoman, but descended from the Greeke Emperors’.² On 13 September 1636, Conway thanked Gerrard for ‘the relation of the Oxford entertainment and not only I but all others that have seene it’.³ On 24 July 1637, Conway wrote from the *Triumph* to Gerrard in London, requesting ‘S^r Jhon Sucklings Play’, possibly *Aglaure*.⁴ A number of poetical manuscripts in the Conway Papers have survived in Gerrard’s hand and seem to date to this period, including two epitaphs in B11, fol. 50r, a satire on Michael Oldisworth (B11, fol. 139r-v) and ‘Penshurst Mount’ (B11, fols. 91r-92v), currently attributed to Lady Mary Wroth.⁵ A bizarre piece of writing about one ‘Abhominable Bland’ (SP 9/51/11), can also be ascribed to Gerrard.

The existence of these documents invites a re-appraisal of Gerrard’s claim to Thomas Wentworth, the Earl of Strafford, while sending him verses, that, he ‘never had Patience in all my life to transcribe Poems, except they were very transcendent, such as Dean Donn writ in his younger days’.⁶ In fact, judging from his correspondence with Conway, Gerrard was a regular transcriber of verse who saw the dissemination of poetry and court entertainments as part of his duties as a newsletter-writer. Conway’s own friendship with Strafford was also partly literary. Commenting about one fall-out at court, he observed, ‘Now if I were a good Poet, I should with Chaucer call upon Melpomene: To help me to indite / Verses that weepen as I write.’⁷ In typically bathetic fashion, he then related an

¹ SP 16/298/10, Gerrard to Conway, 18 September 1635.

² Add. MS 70,002, fol. 108r; *HMC Portland* (29), 3.36.

³ Add. MS 70,002, fol. 120r; *HMC Portland* (29), 3.35.

⁴ Add. MS 70,002, fol. 150r. Quoted in Bentley, *The Elizabethan and Jacobean Stage*, 5.1201. Cf. *The Works of Sir John Suckling: The Plays*, ed. L. A. Beaurline (Oxford, 1971), pp. 33-120.

⁵ In his forthcoming book on Donne and Jonson, Mark Bland will argue that the author was Elizabeth Sidney, who visited Penshurst in October 1610 (private communication). I am grateful to Gary Stringer for sharing Gerrard-related material with me. Stringer has argued that Gerrard transcribed the Dowden manuscript of Donne’s poetry (Bod., MS Eng. poet. e. 99; *Variorum*, O20; *Index*, Δ1; formerly cited as *D*). Stringer’s argument was made as respondent to a panel on ‘Digitizing Donne’ at the John Donne Society Conference, 2009. I do not intend to address either the Wroth/Sidney or the Dowden/Gerrard questions here.

⁶ Gerrard to Wentworth, 10 November 1634, in *The Earl of Strafforde’s Letters and Dispatches*, ed. William Knowler, 2 vols. (1739), 1.338.

⁷ The slash is Conway’s. The line comes from the first stanza of *Troilus and Criseyde*.

anecdote about Lady Carlisle: ‘her Dog hath lately written a Sonnet in her Praise, which Harry Percy burnt, or you had now had it; but he shall new write it.’⁸

Conway’s correspondence with Gerrard is revealing about Conway’s general literary awareness, often evinced only in throwaway comments. Describing one Dutch prisoner he had captured, for example, Conway noted that ‘he had a face like the shield of the Red crosse Knight Wherein old dints of deepe woundes did remaine’.⁹ It is noteworthy that when Conway wrote to his nephew, warning him about the growth of ‘Atheisme’ since 1650 and the complicity of certain preachers in the devil’s plans, it seemed natural for him to draw a comparison to a character from Jonson’s *The Alchemist*: ‘the Diuell is like to S^r Epicure Mammon who would haue none Bawdes but Fathers or Husbands’.¹⁰ More pertinent to this study is Conway’s teasing of his nephew, Edward Harley:

It is not good for man to be alone, he is then worse than he is in the worst company; The happynes which Doctor Donne found out when his wife lay inne To be a Widower and his wife aliue, was but Poetike in respect of that my Lord Brooke that is old Brooke did wish for, to haue a Sonne living and a wife dead, aske your father who hath had three wiues, whether it be not true; I will shortly send you another booke and a very good one ...¹¹

The reference is to Donne’s letter to Goodere (c.1613?): ‘I have now two of the best happinesses which could befall me, upon me; which are, to be a widower and my wife alive’.¹² Conway was therefore citing the *Letters*, which was printed that year, evidence of the speed with which he acquired newly published books.

Despite his protestations – ‘I am likely enough to make many errors against learning, for I am noe otherway a Scholer then a Scotch Pedlar is a Marchant’¹³ – Conway was no passive reader. In letters to his daughter-in-law he would occasionally expound literary criticism:

⁸ Conway to Wentworth, 22 January 1636, *Strafford’s Letters*, 2.47-8.

⁹ Add. MS 70,002, fol. 116r; *HMC Portland* (29), 3.38, Conway to Gerrard, 15 August 1636. The reference is to Spenser’s *Faerie Queene*, 1.3, eds. Thomas P. Roche, Jr. and C. Patrick O’Donnell, Jr. (London, 1978).

¹⁰ Add. MS 70,006, fol. 224r, 30 June 1651. This is not recorded in *The Jonson Allusion Book*, eds. Jesse Franklin Bradley and Joseph Quincey Adams (New Haven, CT, 1922), nor G. E. Bentley, *Shakespeare and Jonson*, 2 vols. (Chicago, IL, 1945).

¹¹ Add. MS 70,006, fol. 221r, 10 June 1651, Conway to Edward Harley.

¹² *Letters*, p. 179.

¹³ Add. MS 23,213, fol. 13, Conway to Anne Conway, 22 July 1651; Nicolson, p. 32.

I will tell you some conceptions of mine concerning new bookes ... Our English Playes are not written according to the rules of Antient Comoedies and Tragedies, but if the English language were understood by other nations, they would certainly imitate them.¹⁴

On one occasion, Conway attempted to dissuade Gerrard from his half-joking threat to print Conway's letters, claiming that epistles were for the most part wearisome:

you can doe me noe hurte, for he onely thinkes himselfe hurte by hauing his follies published that thinkes himselfe fit to pretend to wisdom, which I vtterly disclaime ... but if you intend me a fauour, doe it not, for I haue not found any great honour giuen to bookes of Epistles: Tullies are blotted by schoole boyes, the Greeke Epistles, Senecaes and Plinyes, the workes of great wits, or they were themselues deceiued, are now only looked on by Critiques that hunt after words and phrases, and by them corrupted with their emendations.

Italian epistles, he added, were too verbose even for excerpting the best sections, because the extraction of the wit destroyed the entire structure. The letters of Cardinals Offat and Perron did at least contain some useful history, but otherwise 'might goe into the fire with [Guez de] Balzac who is only thought well of by those that loue wordes and hardly matter to vpholde them, but he is a fit writer for a frenchman as a Citterne is the fittest Instrument for a Barber.'¹⁵

Letters nevertheless played a vital part in Conway's acquisition of both news and books and no less a correspondent than John Selden kept him informed of news from London while he was away. Selden sent him a copy of his newly published *Vindiciae secundum integritatem existimationis suae* in 1653; Conway 'corrected' the printing errors by hand, 'as your letter directed'.¹⁶ (Conway was evidently familiar with Selden's other works. Facing down Dutch ships, Conway said 'we set forward to make the Dutch comment upon M^r Selden's Mare Clausum', the 1635 work on British sovereignty on the waters.)¹⁷ Carew Raleigh, Sir

¹⁴ Add. MS 23,212, fol. 9, Conway to Anne Conway, 8 July 1651; Nicolson, p. 31.

¹⁵ Add. MS 70,002, fol. 120r; *HMC Portland* (29), 3.39, Conway to Gerrard, 13 September 1636.

¹⁶ BL, Harl. MS 7001, fol. 218, Conway to Selden, 20 July 1653. This letter is not mentioned in G. J. Toomer, *John Selden*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 2009), although cf. 1.315 for a brief discussion of their friendship. Conway is not discussed in Jason P. Rosenblatt, *Renaissance England's Chief Rabbi* (Oxford, 2006).

¹⁷ Add. MS 70,002, fol. 112; *HMC Portland* (29), 3.37, 18 July 1636. Conway certainly owned this book: see SP 20/7, p. 76, the London library catalogue discussed below. Conway also recommended to Edward Harley

Walter's son, sent Conway 'a parcell of papers', in June 1652, that included some of his father's medical receipts, 'all of this kynd ... wch I haue, that you haue not already seene: they are most of them in my Fathers owne hand'. He added, remarkably, that he possessed 'many other papers of vurses and discourses of several kynds', that he could send on return of the receipts.¹⁸ Conway received foreign intelligence from his father's former secretary Weckherlin and commissioned regular newsletters from a naval captain, Edmund Rossingham, both of whom appear to have sent him books too.¹⁹ Conway sometimes requested specific scribes to copy out works, telling Gerrard:

I did speake to your neighbour my Lord Dunsmore for certain verses he promised me to bring them to London and to let you haue them to copping out I pray let them be copied by Andrew who writes now for my Lord Admirall.²⁰

Since 1638, the Lord High Admiral had been Algernon Percy, tenth Earl of Northumberland. Conway maintained a lifelong friendship with Percy, heir to one of the greatest private libraries of the sixteenth century, that of his father Henry Percy.²¹ Conway spent many of his later years on Northumberland's estates at Petworth and at Sion House, and kept an all-night vigil alongside Gerrard when Lady Northumberland died.²²

Like his friendship with Gerrard, Conway's correspondence with Dr Theodore de Mayerne, Europe's most famous physician, was not primarily literary, but often involved the exchange of books and other writing.²³ Mayerne wrote (in French) on 19 September 1648 to thank Conway 'for the list of Mechanics [i.e. machines, *OED*, *adj.* and *n.* II.4a]' he had recently received: 'If you found them in a printed book, let me know of it,' he asked, 'but if

'Mr. Selden's new booke *De Synedriis*' (BL, Add. MS 70,006, fol. 214r; *HMC Portland* (29), 3.193-4, 14 April 1651). Selden's *De Jure Gentium* appears in a list of books bought from Richard Whitaker in August 1640 (SP 16/463/61).

¹⁸ SP 18/24/57, Carew Raleigh to Lord Conway, 26 June 1652.

¹⁹ See e.g. SP 16/366/41, 27 August 1637 and SP 16/461/39, 28 July 1640 (from Weckherlin), and SP 16/463/32, 4 August 1640 (from Rossingham). Weckherlin also performed some accounting duties for Conway (e.g. SP 16/458/108).

²⁰ BL, Add. MS 70,002, fol. 214r; *HMC Portland* (29), 3.55, 12 February 1639. Perhaps Andrew's is the elegant hand responsible for Northumberland's letters at SP 16/427/41 (11 August 1639), SP 16/427/97 (28 August 1639), SP 16/428 (10 September 1639), SP 16/428/66 (12 September 1639) and onwards.

²¹ See G. R. Batho, 'The Library of the "Wizard" Earl Henry Percy, Ninth Earl of Northumberland (1564-1632)', *Library*, 5th ser., 15 (1960), pp. 246-61.

²² Gerrard to Wentworth, 16 December 1637, *Strafford's Letters*, 2.142.

²³ Mayerne was a Calvinist at the heart of the Jacobean court from 1610, so probably had a good deal in common with the elder Edward Conway, whom he also treated, see Chapter 1, p. 29.

they are in some manuscript, send it me and I will have it copied without giving you trouble.’²⁴ They sent each other satirical recipes ‘for making fat men lean’ and verse burlesques by Giovanni Battista Lalli and Merlino Coccajo. In 1651 they discussed the more serious poet Joachim du Bellay,²⁵ and ‘L’escole de Salerne’, probably the medical poem *Le regime de santé de l’Escole de Salerne* (Paris, 1649).²⁶ Conway sent Mayerne *De la sagesse* (1601), Pierre Charron’s work of religious scepticism, and returned to him Lalli’s *Franceide*, *Vaspasian* and *Octavian*.²⁷ On 7 May 1648 he wrote to his son: ‘I pray send me my Polibius and Sr Francis Veres booke. you shall doe well to take care in the sending them, and take a copie, of the latter’.²⁸ To his brother-in-law, Sir Robert Harley, Conway wrote news about recent controversial religious books, including *The Coale from the Altar*, *The Christian Alter* and a translation which contained ‘many Popish pointes’: ‘now you haue all the newes of Bellum Grammaticale’, Conway concluded, possibly alluding to Andrea Guarna’s Latin play.²⁹

Even acknowledging Conway’s obvious love of books, the scale of his collecting comes as a surprise. Conway was among the foremost private book collectors of the early seventeenth century. His library catalogues together record more than 13,000 volumes, with upwards of 8,000 books held at his estate in Lisnagarvey (now Lisburn, co. Antrim, Northern Ireland), a further 5,000-6,000 items in London and a list of ‘double and imperfect’ copies (SP 16/372/111) attesting to another 500 books owned by November 1637. The history of Conway’s enormous library catalogues has been well documented, and I will not repeat all the information here.³⁰ In brief, Conway’s Irish library at Lisnagarvey

²⁴ Nicolson, p. 20, SP 16/139/523, 19 September 1648. The translation is Nicolson’s.

²⁵ Nicolson, p. 23, SP 16/16/82, 17 October 1651.

²⁶ Nicolson, p. 21-2, SP 16/16/57, 8 October 1651.

²⁷ Nicolson, p. 23, SP 16/16/82, 17 October 1651.

²⁸ HEH, HA 14342.

²⁹ BL, Add. MS 70,002, fol. 148r, *HMC Portland* (29), 3.42, 21 April 1637. The first book is Peter Heylyn, *A Coale from the Altar* (first edn. 1637), a defence of Laudian altar policy; the second, *The Christian Alter* (or *Altar*) does not appear in STC, so might have been a manuscript text.

³⁰ The most up-to-date summary of the library catalogues can be found in Daniel Starza Smith, ‘“La Conquest du Sang Real”: Edward, Second Viscount Conway’s Quest for Books’, in *From Compositor to Collector: Essays on the Book Trade*, eds. Matthew Day and John Hinks (forthcoming). This article summarises and advances research previously published in the following articles and chapters: H. R. Plomer, ‘A Cavalier’s Library’, *Library*, new ser., 5 (1904), pp. 158-72; Ian Roy, ‘The Libraries of Edward, 2nd Viscount Conway, and Others: An Inventory and Valuation of 1643’, *BIHR*, 41 (1968), pp. 35-46; T. A. Birrell, ‘Reading as Pastime: The Place of Light Literature in Some Gentlemen’s Libraries of the Seventeenth Century’, in

was burned by rebel soldiers in 1641, and his London collection was confiscated in August 1643 by the Committee for Sequestration, a Parliamentary body that punished loyal royalists during the Civil War.³¹ The large manuscript inventory of the Lisnagarvey library, a folio volume, has survived at the Armagh Public Library;³² it was principally compiled by William Chambers, Conway's preacher, and Phillip Tandy, a local school teacher, between 1636 and 1640. The bookseller Robert Bostock's inventory of the impounded London books has survived in the National Archives, London.³³ Despite the list of duplicate books travelling from Ireland to London, I concur with Boydell and Egan-Buffet that Conway's Irish and London libraries were 'substantially independent collections'.³⁴ Numerous other documents attest to Conway's collecting habits, including letters between Conway and his booksellers and purchasing agents across Europe.³⁵ The catalogues and letters show that Conway employed sophisticated ordering systems and that he took great care when acquiring new items to ensure he received the correct edition.

Most importantly, the catalogues enable us to discern Conway's acquisitional interests. Conway was apparently buying every kind of book available. A collection of such considerable size and scope can only be examined partially in the available space. I have chosen to concentrate on the second Viscount's literary holdings. The literature content of the London library is relatively small; most books listed are histories, particularly those of

Property of a Gentleman, eds. Robin Myers and Michael Harris, (Winchester, 1991), pp. 113-31; Arthur Freeman and Paul Grinke, 'Four New Shakespeare Quartos?', *TLS* (5 April 2002), p. 17; Barra Boydell and Máire Egan-Buffet: 'An Early Seventeenth-Century Library from Ulster: Books on Music in the Collection of Lord Edward Conway (1602-1655)', in *Music, Ireland and the Seventeenth Century*, ed. Barra Boydell and Kerry Houston (Dublin, 2009), pp. 95-108 (previously in *Proceedings of the 1st Annual Conference of the Society for Musicology in Ireland* (Maynooth, 2004), pp. 29-40).

³¹ Roy, 'Libraries', p. 36.

³² Armagh Public Library, MS KH II 39: *Tituli catalogi sequentis in theologia; Library Catalogue of Edward, 2nd Viscount Conway*.

³³ SP 20/7.

³⁴ Boydell and Buffet, 'An Early Seventeenth-Century Library', p. 37.

³⁵ Three book lists in particular evince further buying habits, but none directly concerns English literature. SP 16/463/61, 7 August 1640, is a receipt by the bookseller Richard Whitaker for £10 10s. of Edmund Rossingham [miscatalogued 'Bossingham'] in payment for a parcel of books, endorsed 'Catalogus Librorum'. It includes thirty books (£10 15s., plus one deleted entry) and 'a Boxe to pack them in' (at 1s. 6d.). SP 16/315/47, 4 March 1636, is a bill for 63 Latin, French, Italian and Spanish books sold to Conway on various dates between 1632 and 1635, total cost £16 2s. 10d. SP 16/450/20, 2 April 1640, is a list of 60 books (plus one deleted entry) with their prices, supplied to Conway, totalling £10 2s. One Antonio Tracey sent Conway a 'Cheast of Bookes' on 18 May 1633, 'as many as I could gett at the present', at a cost of 'above fowerscore crounes' (SP 16/239/3). Tracey, writing from Florence, also claimed to be commissioning a portrait of Conway, but it is not known if this was ever completed.

foreign countries and continents (including India and Africa). Philosophy and military tactics, art history, some sermons and a significant number of foreign-language books make up the bulk of the collection. Most literature recorded here is foreign, with a concentration of romances and drama, largely in Spanish and Italian. *Orlando Furioso* and *Amadis of Gaul* receive many repeat entries, perhaps because multi-volume sets were split up and counted separately. English literature barely features at all – so it is particularly striking to find among the catalogue’s 5,000 entries ‘Dunn’s Poems’, undated but clearly the 1633 or 1635 edition, valued here at one shilling.³⁶

Donne (the elder) is reasonably well represented in the Lisnagarvey collection. Conway owned the major poetry editions of 1633 (fol. 246v, 29) and 1635 (fol. 249v, 54) and *An Anatomy of the World* (1625, the fourth edition of *The First Anniversary*; fol. 248v, 17). Conway’s copy of *Ignatius his Conclave* (1626) is listed under ‘Scriptores Satirici 12 et: 16^o’ (fol. 232r, 8), and was evidently owned in duplicate (SP 16/572/111, fol. 212, 14). Other English poets whose names appear frequently are Michael Drayton, Samuel Daniel and Sir John Davies; most authors are contemporary, with Chaucer and Langland (as might be expected) the lone medieval poets. The list of Conway’s English poetry features many editions of Homer, Virgil, and especially Ovid, in translation. Classical works tend towards the caustic, satirical or erotic: Horace, Juvenal, the *Metamorphoses*, the *Fight of Frogs and Mice*. However, Virgil’s epic and his *Eclogues* are both also present in translation, as is Lucan’s *Pharsalia*. The Armagh catalogue lists Jonson’s 1616 folio *Workes*, *Jonsonus Virbius* (1638) and five of his plays in quarto. Indeed, while there is practically no drama in the London catalogue, the Irish library is particularly impressive for its theatrical contents. Conway owned 350 English plays published between 1560 and 1640 – more than half the 600 plays printed by 1640 – and, overall, 619 plays in four languages.³⁷ He also appears to have owned three Shakespeare quartos unrecorded elsewhere, including a first edition 1597 *Love’s Labour’s Lost*, a combined ‘Henry 4 the first and second parte’ from 1619 (probably a pirated version), and ‘The Taminge of the Shrew by W: Sh:’ (1621), though the latter may be the known 1631 edition, mis-dated. Using a list of plays supplied by Humphrey Moseley

³⁶ Fol. 104v. The third edition was printed in 1669. Prices in this document were set artificially low. See my “‘La Conquest’”.

³⁷ Freeman and Grinke, ‘Four New Shakespeare Quartos?’

to ‘an unknown customer’, W. W. Greg has shown that Conway was in fact buying books on standing order, employing Moseley as a centralised retail bookseller.³⁸

Conway’s collection of catalogues has not previously received comment. George, Lord Digby, showing familiarity with his friend’s ordering system, sent Conway ‘a Catalogue of such Spanish bookes as are thought the best ... many of them I thinke for my part to be Pamphletts but you may bee pleasd to range them amonge y^r volumes of Balletts’ (i.e. ballads).³⁹ John Lanyon, in March 1639, instructed his patron that there would be a delay in the arrival of printed catalogues from Frankfurt,⁴⁰ and Fulke Reed sent a similar, but more detailed, explanation about the delay of another catalogue in August 1637.⁴¹ Conway’s agent Miles Woodshaw noted on 5 September 1650 that Conway had asked Donne junior for a green bird and a ‘catalogue of his bookes’, presumably an inventory of his library.⁴² Indeed, a whole section of the Armagh catalogue is given over to catalogues of other libraries. It seems likely that Conway enjoyed reading about books as much as he enjoyed owning them. Nevertheless, Conway’s tastes in literature were not just the sedentary pleasures of book collecting: his theatre-related expenditure shows an avid attendance at performances when he was in London. An inventory of money spent on a visit to London between 7 July 1634 and 19 March 1635 features a number of theatre-related expenses:⁴³

Paid at the play-house, 3s. 6d.
 For my Lord’s going into the play at Blackfriars, 2s.
 For going into the play, 4s.
 For my Lord’s going into the play, 6d.
 My Lord had of me in the play house, 4s.
 Paid at the Blackfriars playhouse, 4s.
 For going into two plays at the Cockpit, 4s.

³⁸ W. W. Greg, *A Bibliography of the English Printed Drama*, 4 vols. (1939-59), 3.1317-18. Cf. Freeman and Grinke, ‘Four New Shakespeare Quartos’; n.b. the retraction of one of their claims in ‘Shakespeare Quartos’, *TLS* (14 June 2002), p. 17.

³⁹ SP 16/409/55, Digby to Conway, 10 January 1639.

⁴⁰ SP 16/415/2, 21/31 March 1639.

⁴¹ SP 16/365/39, Fulke Reed to Conway, 7 August 1637. ‘I haue spoken wth M^{<f>} Bellers for the catalogue of bookes he promist to send yo^r. Lo^p., ... but there is none drawne as yett, for that M^r Burges (who oweth them) is litle time where is [*sic*] bookes are; and that M^r. Roberts ... one whose asistance & iudgm^t. in the drawing of a catalogue M^r. Burges doth much relie, is now residing nere Birmingeham’. Burgess may be the man of that name who was working for Conway in 1635 (e.g. SP 16/285/19), but I have not identified Bellers or Roberts.

⁴² SP 18/11/8.

⁴³ Excerpts from SP 16/285/10, account of payments by [Edward Burgh], 19 March 1635.

For my Lord's going into the play at the Cockpit, 4s. 6d.

This list shows that the Blackfriars and the Cockpit were Conway's playhouses of choice, and the plays he might have witnessed on this visit can tentatively be identified. John Greene and Sir Humphrey Mildmay, respectively, saw Beaumont and Fletcher's *The Elder Brother* at the Blackfriars in February and April 1635. Queen Henrietta's Company appear to have performed Beaumont and Fletcher's *The Knight of the Burning Pestle* at 'the Private house' in Drury Lane (very likely the Cockpit) in 1635.⁴⁴ Bentley conjectures that there may have been a revival of Dekker, Ford and Rowley's *The Witch of Edmonton* in 1635, and we know that Henry Glapthorne's *The Hollander* was acted at the Cockpit in Drury Lane by the Queen's Company in 1635, when Thomas Nabbes's *Hannibal and Scipio* was also performed.

There is some confusion about the history of Conway's collections after his death, and the great majority of his books have not been located. The books descended by two immediate routes, one to Conway's son, Edward, later first Earl of Conway, and the other to George Rawdon, the second Viscount's Irish estate manager and son-in-law. It seems that the London books went to the former, and the surviving Irish books stayed with the latter. Though he did not attend school or university, the third and youngest Edward Conway was sent to Paris as a young man to learn military tactics. According to a deed of gift, he inherited his father's book collection in 1649.⁴⁵ However, he may have been given some books before his father's death.⁴⁶ When the London library was recovered from the Committee for Sequestration, the second Viscount's son wrote to Harley, his uncle and Master of the Mint, to thank him for 'preserving my Father's bookes, *which are mine*, and were to be sent to me; ... [It] is a very great iniustice donne to me that I should be so highly

⁴⁴ Bentley, 1.110, 1.250.

⁴⁵ Sean Kelsey, 'Edward Conway, Earl of Conway', *ODNB*; SP 18/1/25, Deed of gift, by Edward Viscount Conway and Killultagh, to Edward Conway his son and heir, of all his books and manuscripts, in consideration of his son's having disbursed divers sums of money for him, 10 March 1649.

⁴⁶ The second Viscount himself seems to have inherited some volumes from his uncle Lord Brooke, in 1631, though they arrived wet and were 'almost spoiled'. See SP 16/204/17, SP 16/204/71 and SP 16/204/96. He also chased up some books from his father's collection that had gone astray, SP 16/204/17, Conway to Fulke Reed, 6 December 1631, also cited above.

iniured vpon his account'.⁴⁷ Conway had stored his Irish library in Rawdon's Lisnagarvey house, Brookhill, and many books apparently descended through Rawdon's family. One volume in the British Library, for example, carries Conway's book-stamp (see p. 91) and the signature of John Rawdon, later Earl of Moira, George's great-grandson.⁴⁸ John Morris, of the National Library of Scotland, prepared an unpublished 'Armorial Of British Bookbinding', in which he states that Conway's library 'descended through his daughter [who married George Rawdon] to Sir John Rawdon Bart, and thence to the Marquis of Hastings, and was sold at auction by Mr Philips, Wheeler Gate, Nottingham on 29 December 1868.'⁴⁹ I am not convinced that many of Conway's books filtered down through this route. Most volumes mentioned in the Nottingham sale catalogue are dated earlier (before 1600) or later (after 1655) than the period in which he was buying. The books bought by the British Museum are a small sample of the 20,000 Hastings volumes sold in 1868, but none offers physical evidence of previous ownership by Conway.

The subsequent history of Conway's collections remains mostly a mystery. A provenance search of the Consortium of European Research Libraries turns up none of his books.⁵⁰ However, several can be identified in major libraries by virtue of the distinctive binding, 'a moor's head in profile' as described by Fairbairn, tooled in gold:⁵¹

⁴⁷ Add. MS 70,004, unfoliated; *HMC Portland* (29), 3.120, 20 January 1644. My emphasis.

⁴⁸ The Buchonius at C.68.d.14, discussed below.

⁴⁹ Thanks to Philippa Marks of the British Library for providing me with this information. The sale catalogue is in the British Library at S.C. 1055(2) and is recorded in A. W. Pollard's *List of Catalogues of English Book Sales* (1915). Philips was based in Bond Street, London; the Wheeler Gate address pertains to the Nottingham auctioneers Pott and Neale who hosted the sale. The *Nottingham Journal* records the four-day sale. My thanks to staff at Nottingham Local Studies for locating this information for me.

⁵⁰ www.cerl.org/web/en/resources/provenance/main (CERL, 2008), accessed 2 January 2011.

⁵¹ James Fairbairn, *Fairbairn's Book of Crests of the Families of Great Britain and Ireland*, 4th edn., 2 vols. (London and Edinburgh: T. C. and E. C. Jack, 1905), vol. 2, Plate 192, image 13. The image above is taken from SP 20/7.



Some of Conway's books survive at Armagh Public Library, but a twentieth-century manuscript book listing shelfmarks of the library's Conway holdings was apparently made using an earlier shelfmark system.⁵² Of the dozen books I ordered using this volume, none had belonged to Conway and many were from different eras entirely. A complete search of their collections may turn up many volumes unrecorded to date. One Conway book that certainly survives in Armagh is Samuel Newman's *Concordance of the Bible* (1643).⁵³ The British Library holds Conway's copies of Athanasius Kircher's *Primitiae gnomonicae catoptricae* (Avignon, 1635; C.68.d.14), and the 1623 work *Recueil general des Caquets de l'acouchée* (C.65.f.10). The first of these notes that it was purchased from the Hastings library sale in Nottingham but, confusingly, claims the date of sale was June 1896 (not December 1868). Several books are now owned by Oxford colleges. Joannes Baptista Camotius, *Commentarii in primum metaphysices Theophrasti* (Venice, 1551) is at Balliol College (610.b.6) and Francis Bacon, *Historia naturalis* (Leiden, 1638) at Worcester College (HH.7.18).⁵⁴ Two volumes survive at St John's, Agostini Mascardi, *Romanae dissertationes de affectibus* (Paris, 1638; K.4.2) and Estienne Binet, *Abregé des vies des principaux fondateurs des religions* (Antwerp, 1634; P.Scam.2.B7).

⁵² This booklet was never assigned a shelfmark. Thanks to Lorraine Frazer of Armagh Public Library for her help with this enquiry.

⁵³ Catalogued at P001436100.

⁵⁴ Balliol was closed to researchers at time of writing.

The Bodleian holds a Conway-stamped folio volume of Sir Richard Fanshawe's poems (MS Firth c. 1), a manuscript in a single hand, bound in calf, which was clearly a library item and not stored among the Conway Papers. Bernardo Giustiniano's *Breve trattato delle continuationi de' cambi* (Genoa, 1621), also containing the *Apologia di D. Hortensio Capellone*, is now at the University of London Library (Special Collections, G.L. 1619). In addition to Conway's crest, it bears the autograph of Sir John Rawdon on p. 9, and his crest as Earl of Moira on the spine. Other books listed by Morris but whose locations I have not yet ascertained include: Fernão Mendes Pinto, *Historia orientale de las peregrinaciones* (Madrid, 1620) and *Ovid's Metamorphosis Englished by George Sandys* (third edn., London, 1638);⁵⁵ a Bible (La Rochelle, 1616) bound in red morocco and featuring the signatures of Anne and Dorothy Conway; and Iacopo Nardi's *Le storie della citta di Firenze* (Florence, 1584), also featuring the stamp of Baron Bagot impressed in blind. The Sandys is probably the copy listed in the Armagh catalogue (fol. 251r, item 9). I have not yet found any of Conway's marginalia in books that I have consulted, but surviving volumes may record evidence of the owner's reading habits. Conway claims to have marked 'very good' sections in red ink (which he probably made himself), and passages 'not worth any thing' in 'black Lead'.⁵⁶ Some books may have survived at Petworth.

Many of the themes raised by Conway's literary interests coalesce in a series of events that occurred in 1643, offering a useful conclusion to this section, as they involve his library, his royalist allegiances, manuscript verse and his friendship with poets, in this case Edmund Waller. Conway may have seen some of Waller's very earliest serious works – one of the first references to Waller as a poet was in 1637, when Kenelm Digby offered to send Conway 'Mr. Wallers verses' – and he certainly owned a number of Waller's poems in manuscript.⁵⁷ One of these is 'Of His Majesty's receiving the news of the Duke of

⁵⁵ George Smith and F. B. Benger, *A Collection of Armorial Bookbindings* (1927), p. 20.

⁵⁶ BL, Add. MS 70,006, fol. 222r; *HMC Portland* (29), 3.195 (to Edward Harley), 17 June 1651. For another ink reference, see fol. 237r (*HMC Portland* (29), 3.197), 14 October 1651, and note his ownership of William Phillip's translation *A Booke of Secrets: Shewing Diuers Waies to Make and Prepare all Sorts of Inke and Colours* (1596), Armagh Catalogue, fol. 532r, item 17.

⁵⁷ SP16/364/68, Digby to Conway, 27 July 1637. See Raylor, 'Waller's Early Career', p. 244. Raylor suggests that the poem referred to may have been 'Lady Katherine Howards Voyage' or perhaps 'To the King on his navy', both discussed below. Cf. Raylor, 'A New Poem by Waller?', *passim*. Raylor claims that this is the first reference to Waller as a poet, but nb. the title of Waller's poem 'To Mr. Henry Lawes, who had then

Buckingham's death' (SP 9/51/36), which Raylor dates to 1638 because of apparent references to Northumberland's appointment as Lord High Admiral.⁵⁸ Waller was 'the unofficial laureate of the Percy interest',⁵⁹ and was patronised directly by Northumberland, writing, among other poems dedicated to Percys, 'To my Lord of Northumberland, upon the death of his lady' in late 1637. His 'What's shee? So late from Penshurst Come' was written on the 1639 marriage of Algernon's niece, Dorothy Sidney, whom the poet made famous as 'Sacharissa';⁶⁰ Conway owned a copy of this poem (SP 16/414/19) and, as an intimate associate of the Percys, was a literary beneficiary of the relationship.

Waller's poem 'The Lady Katherine Howards Voyage and Enterteynement, aboard the *Triumph* by the Earle of Northumberland he being then Lord High Admirall' (SP 9/51/39-40; probably summer 1637) portrays Conway and Northumberland together at sea, hosting a visit from a group of ladies.⁶¹ In addition to owning a manuscript copy of this poem, a late-1630s composition that has thematic ties to Selden's *Mare Clausum*, Conway may have been interested in Waller's 'Of Salle', a companion piece to 'To the King on his Navy'. Conway's ownership of *Jonsonus Virbius* and George Sandys's *Paraphrase upon the Divine Poems*, the two earliest printed books to contain Waller's poems, offers indirect evidence of his interest in this author and his circle, and Waller appears to have been at Suckling's 'Sessions of the Poets'.⁶²

Conway's friendship with Waller – or rather, its collapse – set in motion a very particular chain of events that help shape our understanding of the second Viscount. After Waller implicated Conway in his ill-fated plot to restore the King, Conway was imprisoned during official investigations until July 1643. On his release, he rode to Oxford to join the King's

newly set a song of mine in the year 1635', *The Poems of Edmund Waller*, ed. G. Thorn Drury, 2 vols. (1893), p. 19.

⁵⁸ Raylor, 'Waller's Early Career', p. 253.

⁵⁹ Raylor, 'A New Poem by Waller?', p. 218.

⁶⁰ Dorothy Sidney was the daughter of Percy's sister, also Dorothy, and Robert Sidney, second Earl of Leicester.

⁶¹ Another copy of this poem exists at UCL Special Collections, Ogden MS 42, pp. 12-16. Cf. Raylor, 'A new poem by Waller?', *passim*.

⁶² See *The Works of Sir John Suckling: The Non-Dramatic Works*, ed. T. Clayton (Oxford, 1971), pp. 72, 266-68. Sidney Godolphin, another poet at the 'Sessions', is represented in the Conway Papers in SP 9/51 (fols. 5-6), the same volume of separates that preserves two of Waller's poems.

court in exile. The immediate consequence of this action was that his London library was confiscated by parliamentary forces. The Committee for Sequestration made two raids on enemy bibliophiles in 1643, first on 27 March against individuals at war with Parliament or actively contributing to the King's cause, then again on 18 August.⁶³ Conway's books were taken in the later sequestration. It was the second major library that he had lost within as many years, and though he regained most of the volumes later, it must have been a crushing blow. What Conway did next is at once remarkable and wholly appropriate to his character. It would appear that he found a comfort of sorts by participating in a manuscript-circulating community of poets and versifiers.

The final document I wish to present in this chapter is a manuscript miscellany now kept at the Huntington Library (HM 16522).⁶⁴ A seventeenth-century hand identifies it as 'A Collection of Poems & Ballads in ridicule of the Parliam^{ty} Party during the Quarrel with Ch: I.' (fol. 1r). It does not bear a date, but three poem titles include the years 1640, 1644 and 1647. The last of these is the penultimate poem in the volume, so it could have been added quite some time after the volume was begun. Several lyrics are given authorial attributions, and the high number of names associated with Oxford colleges makes it likely that the volume was compiled in that city. Contributing fellows include Henry Harrington and John Berkenhead of All Souls, Thomas Weaver of Christ Church, and 'M^r Allibond' of Lincoln;⁶⁵ poems include 'Oxfords Accomodacion' and 'Oxford's O yes'. The most curious feature of this manuscript is the number of hands that went into its composition, one of them certainly connected to Conway, and the inconsistency of their distribution.⁶⁶ The

⁶³ Roy, 'Libraries', p. 36.

⁶⁴ The Huntington's information file reveals that the manuscript was purchased in 1949 from Frank H. Marcham of New College Parade, Finchley Rd., London (Catalogue 2, item 136). My thanks to Sue Hodson for her help with this file.

⁶⁵ Peter Allibond, fellow of Lincoln College, died in February 1641; Harrington was a fellow of Gray's Inn in 1640. Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses, 1500-1714*, 4 vols. (Oxford, 1891-2), 1.19, 2.635. There is no entry in Foster for a Berkenhead or Barkenhead. Thomas Weaver was chaplain of Christ Church in 1641, and was expelled by parliamentarians in 1648; Jerome de Groot, 'Thomas Weaver', *ODNB*.

⁶⁶ One of the hands was also responsible for transcribing several interesting Conway Papers documents, including SP 9/51/4 (no date), SP 14/130/175 (mis-catalogued 1622), SP 16/451/46 (25 April 1640), SP 16/451/58A (27 April 1640), SP 16/451/128 ([April] 1640), SP 16/453/111 (17 May 1640), SP 16/464/1 (15 August 1640), SP 16/464/27 (18 August 1640), SP 16/465/4A (15 August 1640), SP 16/515/2 (26 July 1647), SP 16/540/2 (4 October 1635), SP 16/455/38 (28 May 1640), SP 18/1/25 (10 March 1649) and BL, Add. MS, 70,005, fol. 132 (13 Jun 1646). Because this distinctive hand also inscribed some of the later entries into the Conway catalogue (see e.g. fol. 169v, items 70-82), it can tentatively be identified as the script of William

volume itself is a book in eights, each gathering using four quired half-sheets, and the paper is consistent throughout in size and colour. In other words, it was not assembled from loose fascicles and bound retrospectively. The book has been mis-foliated several times, making it difficult to ascertain which scribes wrote which pages. What is important to note is that the nine different hands that copy out the 85 verses recur at intervals throughout the manuscript, suggesting it was passed around a group of scribes. As such, it physically embodies the coterie that produced it, and signifies the existence of a community of like-minded royalists meeting to share their resistance to the regime that was persecuting their king.

Like the Order of the Fancy, or the ale-fuelled evening of poetry attended by John Donne junior in 1652, this volume is important evidence about Conway's social habits. The manuscript attests to the role of literature in the production and maintenance of social bonds in the period. Conway ate and drank, and rose up to play, this cannot be denied, but perhaps there is more to his tongue-in-cheek evaluation of a gentleman's role. These activities were manifestations of a more profound sense of sociability that bonded individuals and networks with shared values. In the words of A. D. Cousins, the 'cavalier world defines itself as an enclosed civilization with a private angle of vision'.⁶⁷ Cousins was referring to the rhetoric of royalist poets, the way in which they used a language of courtly exclusivity, which then transformed into a defensively self-protecting stance after the outbreak of the Civil War, but it is interesting to note how apt his words are regarding the circulation of cavalier poetry in manuscript.

Chambers. Chambers's surviving autograph letters do not match the other documents letter-for-letter, but minuscule *p* and a generally similar *ductus*, combined with his known involvement with the Irish catalogue, make him a likely candidate. Chambers probably had an everyday script and a finer one for professional scribal work. Alternatively, the hand belongs to 'Frederic Houper', who appears as a witness to SP 18/1/25, his name signed in this hand. However, this is the sole reference to this man that I have found, and Chambers may have signed this on his behalf – cf. SP 16/464/22 (17 August 1640), signed from an engineer, Heinrich van Peer, but likely a secretarial copy since it doesn't bear an address. Another hand from the Huntington ballads volume appears in SP 16/539/2, fol. 103, 22 lines of verse headed 'January the 30:th Henery: 8 / A Prophesy Found in the Abbey of Saint Benedicte nere the citty of Norwitch' (10 June 1643), but it is not a Conway Paper.

⁶⁷ A. D. Cousins, 'The Cavalier World and John Cleveland', *SP*, 78 (1981), pp. 61-86, at p. 65.

Chapter 3

‘Some are indeed very curious’: Defining the Conway Papers

This chapter details the history of the Conway Papers’ discovery and their subsequent provenance. It then attempts to establish a working definition of the term ‘Conway Papers’, and to explain how it is understood in this thesis. Finally, I will outline the known corpus of literary works in the archive, which are listed in detail in Appendix 11. The history of the Conway Papers has not previously received full-scale academic investigation. The principal modern accounts of the archive have been made in the introduction to Marjorie Hope Nicolson’s *Conway Letters*, in Peter Beal’s concise *Index of English Literary Manuscripts* description and by Gabriel Heaton, first in his PhD thesis and most recently in *Writing and Reading Royal Entertainments*.¹ I have presented some findings from this chapter in two online journal articles.² However, this chapter is the longest and most detailed account of the history and dispersal of the Conway Papers to date, and the first to clarify the term itself.

Tomb raiders and archival researchers

On 17 November 1861 the Conway family burial vault at Ragley Hall was ‘sacrilegiously entered by burglars, and the coffins of the noble dead despoiled of a portion of their ornaments, and otherwise injured and defaced.’ According to an account of the theft in the *Stratford-on-Avon Herald*,

The rascals appear to have tested the coffin plates and handles, and finding that ‘all that glitters is not gold,’ and that they were for the most part only plated, did not think them worth carrying away. It was at first supposed that only some of the coronets were missing, but the vault being again examined, it was found that not only five coronets but two coffin plates have been carried away.³

¹ Nicolson, *Conway Letters*, rev. edn., ed. Sarah Hutton (1992); Heaton, ‘Performing Gifts’, unpublished PhD diss. (Cambridge University, 2003); Heaton, *Writing and Reading Royal Entertainments* (Oxford, 2010).

² ‘How do You Know if John Donne has Been in Your Archive?’, *Lives and Letters*, 3 (2011), <http://journal.xmera.org>; “‘...another part rotten, another gnawed by rats...’: Tidying Up the Conway Papers’, *Moveable Type*, 5 (2009), www.ucl.ac.uk/english/graduate.

³ *The Stratford-on-Avon Herald*, 29 November 1861, cited in Richard Savage, *Inscriptions on Coffins in “Ragley Old Vault,” Arrow Church, Warwickshire* (1888), pp. 11-12. As a result of the theft, several

The Conway Papers were recovered a century before the family tomb was desecrated, and were bequeathed to the nation around the same time as the raid on the vault. In the intervening time, many of the papers were themselves damaged, stolen and misplaced. Having been ‘despoiled ... injured and defaced’ at Ragley, problems persisted on arrival in national repositories. The archive was first dispersed, then catalogued unsystematically in a manner that further frustrates an already challenging collection. Plundering the Conway Papers in a search for literary-historical gold, the primary task is thus to assess the damage and attempt to reconstruct the original status of the archive, and the various stages of its history.

The principal historical value of the Conway Papers is located in the thousands of state papers that survive only in this archive.⁴ As might be expected of a family who produced two Secretaries of State, several international military commanders and a pre-eminent female philosopher, a huge number of important letters passed into and out of the Conway collection. But in addition to these many private and public documents, the collection contains poems and drama by John Donne, Ben Jonson, Sir John and Francis Beaumont, Thomas Middleton, Sir Henry Wotton, Henry King, Thomas Carew, Lady Mary Wroth, William Herbert, third Earl of Pembroke, Sir John Denham, Sir John Suckling, Edmund Waller, Sir John Davies and others, plus much anonymous political and occasional verse and drama. The Conway Papers represent a significant literary repository. However, for various technical reasons – such as the physical damage suffered by many documents – it is not an archive that is easy to define or explore with confidence. The most sustained analysis of the Conway Papers was undertaken by Nicolson in order to trace the correspondence of Anne Conway and Henry More between 1642 and 1684. Nicolson found herself perplexed by the state of the archive:

tombs cannot now be identified, including those of Sir John Conway, his wife Eleanor, and the first Viscount Conway.

⁴ ‘A State Paper, strictly so called, might be defined as a letter, report, order, or other document, written by an official person, from the Sovereign downwards, on a more or less official subject.’ S. C. Lomas, ‘The State Papers of the Early Stuarts and the Interregnum’, *TRHS*, n. s., 16 (1902), pp. 97-132, at p. 98.

Here was the beginning of a mystery; there the end of an adventure; what happened before and after? Here was a name, evidently so familiar to both correspondents that an abbreviation or an initial served; here, half-a-dozen torn bills and petitions, belonging to the series, yet playing no obvious part in the story; here, numberless letters without date, teasing in their implication.⁵

A similar bemused confusion can be detected in the reactions of the two key investigators of the Conway Papers before Nicolson, Horace Walpole and John Wilson Croker. In order to dispel some of the confusions inherent in the archive, there are three principal issues to address. The first is to summarise what is known about the discovery and distribution of the manuscripts found at Ragley Hall. Secondly, to describe the scope of those papers, and to establish whether it is sufficient to understand the term ‘Conway Papers’ as applying only to these documents. Finally, one must necessarily consider what methodologies are best applied to this archive, and what kinds of questions the archive might help us address.

Dragging ancestors out of the dust: Horace Walpole and the discovery at Ragley

The Conway Papers were amassed over many decades by several generations of the Conway family, roughly speaking from the beginning of Elizabeth I’s reign to the end of the Restoration. Edward, Earl of Conway (*d.*1683), and his wife Anne (*d.*1679), the philosopher whose letters were edited by Nicolson, died without surviving issue. The Earl of Conway had no children with his second wife Elizabeth (née Booth, *d.*1681), or his third, Ursula (née Stawell, *d.*1697), so the Conway family essentially expired with them.⁶ This transitional moment therefore presents a useful terminus for the notion of ‘Conway Papers’. Conway property and titles passed into the hands of the Seymour family, who adopted the Conway name to become the Seymour-Conways. The Earl of Conway left his property and titles to Popham Seymour (1675-99), son of his cousin Laetitia Popham and her husband Sir Edward Seymour, on condition that he change his surname.⁷ When Popham was killed in a duel, the estates passed to his brother, Francis (1679-1732), who also took Seymour-Conway as his surname and was created Baron

⁵ Nicolson, p. xxv.

⁶ Conway blood descended, nevertheless, through Brilliana, Lady Harley, an ancestor of Elizabeth II.

⁷ ‘Eclectic’, ‘Rawdon Family’, *NQ*, 6th ser., 54 (1881), pp. 27-8.

Conway in 1703. His son, another Francis Seymour-Conway (1718-94), became the first Marquess of Hertford. He and his brother Henry (1719-95), an army officer, were first cousins of Horace Walpole (1717-97), fourth Earl of Orford, through their mother, Charlotte, née Shorter, whose sister Catherine married Sir Robert Walpole.

It was Horace Walpole – politician, author and antiquary – who rescued the Conway Papers from obscurity and destruction. Several times in the eighteenth century he visited Ragley Hall in pursuit of his architectural interests. Writing to his old schoolfriend George Montagu (1713-80) on 22 July 1751, Walpole recounted passing Stratford (‘the wretchedest old town I ever saw’) on his way to examine the overhaul of Ragley that was then being undertaken by James Gibbs. Walpole was curious about the previous history of the building, which he judged ‘far beyond anything I have seen of that bad age’ (Ragley is the only surviving architectural work by Robert Hooke).⁸ Walpole cut an amusing figure and astonished the local priest, who repeatedly encountered him in a variety of unusual places:

he saw me first sitting on the pavement of the lumber room ... all over cobwebs, and dirt and mortar, then found me in his own room on a ladder writing on a picture, and half an hour afterwards lying on the grass in the court with the dogs and the children in my slippers and without my hat. He had some doubt whether I was the painter or the factotum of the family but you would have died at his surprise when he saw me walk into dinner dressed and sit by my Lady Hertford. [George,] Lord Lyttelton was there and the conversation turned on literature – Finding me not quite ignorant, added to the parson’s wonder, but he could not contain himself any longer, when after dinner he saw me go to romps and jumping with the two boys – He broke out to my Lady Hertford, and begged to know who and what sort of man I really was, for he had never met with anything of the kind.⁹

Walpole’s idiosyncratic energies paid off: hunting through Ragley’s library, he found a letter detailing an earlier renovation by the Earl of Conway in 1680. This apparently spurred him to continue his search for documentary evidence. He wrote to Montagu on 22 July 1751, to record his even greater discovery:

⁸ W. S. Lewis (ed.) *The Yale Edition of Horace Walpole’s Correspondence*, 48 vols. (New Haven, CT, 1937-83), 9.120. For letters from Hooke to the third Edward Conway, see SP 29/412, fol. 87; SP 29/413, fol. 310; SP 29/414, fols. 57 and 132.

⁹ Lewis, 9.225.

I have had and am to have the rummaging of three chests of pedigrees and letters to that Secretary Conway, which I have interceded for and saved from the flames. The prospect is as fine as one destitute of a navigated river can be, and totally hitherto unimproved.¹⁰

Walpole's initial impression was that the Conway Papers were like an un-navigated river, promising the rich rewards of virgin territory, but daunting to the first explorers. So daunted was Walpole, in fact, that it was only seven years later that he appreciated the true value of his find.

Judging from his discernible excitement, it was not until a visit in 1758 that he realised the importance of what he had saved in 1751. On 5 October 1758, Walpole referred to 'a most valuable treasure that I have *discovered*' (my emphasis) 'buried under lumber upon the pavement of an unfinished chapel'.¹¹ The word 'discovered' implies that he had only just encountered these documents; what seems most likely is that he halted the steady burning of the Conway Papers in 1751, but was unable to examine them properly until 1758. Walpole sent his full reaction to Montagu on 20 August of that year:

think what I have in part recovered! Only the state papers, private letters etc., etc. of the two Lords Conway, Secretaries of State. How you will rejoice and how you will grieve! – They seem to have laid up every scrap of paper they ever had, from the middle of Queen Elizabeth's reign to the middle of Charles II's. By the accounts of the family there were whole rooms full, all which, during the absence of the last [Francis Seymour-Conway (1679-1732), Baron Conway] and the minority of the present lord [Francis Seymour-Conway (1718-94), first Marquess of Hertford], were by the ignorance of a steward consigned to the oven and to the uses of the house. What remained, except one box that was kept till almost rotten in a cupboard, were thrown loose into the lumber-room, where spread on the pavements, they supported old marbles and screens and boxes. From thence I have dragged all I could, and have literally, taking altogether, brought away a chest near five feet long, three wide and two deep, brimful. Half are bills, another part rotten, another gnawed by rats, yet I have already found enough to repay my trouble and curiosity, not enough to satisfy it.¹²

¹⁰ Lewis, 9.120-1.

¹¹ Lewis, 16.17.

¹² Lewis, 9.223-4; the second Secretary Conway is the youngest Edward Conway, the first Earl.

Walpole claims he retrieved a single chest of papers from a collection that once occupied several ‘whole rooms’. ‘Vast numbers have been destroyed’, he explained, ‘yet I came time enough to retrieve vast numbers, many indeed in a deplorable condition’.¹³ The thousands of Conway Papers manuscripts available to us therefore constitute a small and damaged portion of this archive, the true size and extent of which will never be known.¹⁴ Walpole estimated that what had been burned was some ‘forty times’ the size of what remained.¹⁵ Some were evidently irretrievable, others, frustratingly, deemed not worth saving for posterity: writing to his antiquarian friend Henry Zouch (1725?-95) on 5 October 1758, Walpole noted, ‘It is a vast work to dry, range and read them, and to burn the useless, as bills, bonds and every other kind of piece of paper that ever came into the house had been preserved and were all jumbled and matted together’.¹⁶ Perhaps it is wrong to judge without knowing precisely what Walpole was looking at, but it seems astonishing that having castigated an ignorant steward for burning manuscripts Walpole himself threw so much material into the fire.

Walpole’s immediate interest rightly focused on the huge cache of important political documents preserved by the family. Edward, first Viscount Conway, and his grandson, Edward, Earl of Conway, both served as Secretary of State: the elder man to James I and Charles I (between 1623 and 1628), the younger to Charles II (in 1681). Huge numbers of state letters were sent and received by each man, and documents in their hands and those of their secretaries attest to the bureaucratic nature of each man’s household. Other documents were clearly preserved by the second Viscount (who did not serve as Secretary of State): Walpole was particularly excited to find ‘three letters of the great Strafford [Thomas Wentworth (1593-1641)], and three long ones of news of Mr [George] Gerrard Master of the Charterhouse, all six written on paper edged with green,

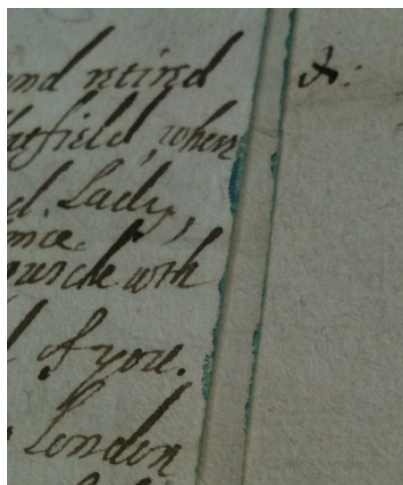
¹³ Lewis, 16.17.

¹⁴ Walpole’s phrase ‘to the oven’ probably implies that papers were used to light fires, but they may also have been used to line cake tins. W. W. Greg cites an example of manuscripts ‘put under Pye bottoms’ in ‘The Bakings of Betsy’, *Library*, ser. 3, 2 (1911), pp. 225-59 at p. 232. The ‘uses of the house’ could be a euphemism for ‘used as toilet paper’, though the *OED* does not record this usage.

¹⁵ To John Chute, 22 August 1758. Lewis, 35.104.

¹⁶ Lewis, 16.17.

like modern French paper'.¹⁷ I have located some of these manuscripts, and they are indeed green-edged:



Walpole continued:

There are handwritings of everybody, all their seals perfect, and the ribbands with which they tied their letters: The original proclamation of Charles I signed by the Privy Council, a letter to King James from his son-in-law [Frederick] of Bohemia with his seal and many, very many letters of negotiation from [John Digby] the Earl of Bristol in Spain, Sir Dudley Carleton, Lord Chichester and Sir Thomas Roe – what say you? – will not here be food for the press?¹⁸

Walpole revealed to Zouch that he was proposing ‘by degrees to print the most curious, of which I think I have already selected enough to form two little volumes of the size of my *Catalogue*.’¹⁹ He estimated, jokingly, that it would take him 30 years to print the

¹⁷ Original letters from Strafford survive in the Conway Papers at SP 16/465/4A and SP 16/464/27 (both in the hand of Conway’s secretary, so probably copies), and SP 16/469/6 and SP 16/472/58, none of which is edged in green. Two which exist in nineteenth-century copies only are SP 16/460/81 and SP 16/465/10. Newsletters from Gerrard to Conway among the Conway Papers and edged with green survive at SP 16/329/45, SP 16/415/65 and SP 16/469/45. The Gerrard manuscripts at SP 16/298/10, SP 16/322/41 and SP 16/331/14 are plain-edged.

¹⁸ Lewis, 9.224. The proclamation is either missing, or Walpole mistook a contemporary copy, in which all signatures are produced by the same hand (now SP 16/521/1), for the original. Lord Chichester is either Arthur Chichester or Francis Leigh, who both held this title.

¹⁹ Lewis, 16.17. The volume referred to is *A Catalogue of the Royal and Noble Authors of England* (Strawberry Hill, 1758), which was printed in two quarto volumes, of 219 and 215 pages plus indexes. It was dedicated to Francis Seymour Conway, Earl of Hertford; Walpole regretted that impartiality compelled him to speak with ‘freedom’ about Hertford’s notorious ancestor, Edward Seymour (c.1500–52), Duke of Somerset (‘Protector Somerset’).

most important documents, but the project never came to light.²⁰ By the time he wrote to Sir David Dalrymple on 30 November 1761, Walpole's enthusiasm had waned somewhat: 'I have long been digesting them at times, but cannot say that, considering the quantity, they overpay my trouble – some are indeed very curious.'²¹ Walpole's words seem to indicate that, on closer inspection, he had not found as much interesting material as he had expected. Though he never explained why he did not publish, it seems likely that Walpole was simply overwhelmed with projects; writing to Henry Seymour Conway on 28 June 1760, he hyperbolically contrasted his busy schedule with his friend's leisure:

Pray, what horse-race do you go to next? For my part, I can't afford to lead such a life: I have Conway-papers to sort; I have lives of the painters to write; I have my prints to paste, my house to build, and everything in the world to tell posterity. – How am I to find time for all this?²²

Alas, even the Conway Papers must give way to 'everything in the world'.

Another century, another antiquary: John Wilson Croker

Thanks to Walpole's endeavours, the Seymour-Conways took greater care of their manuscript collection, and it is through their later intercession that we now have access to the archive as it currently exists. By the mid-nineteenth century the head of the family was Francis Charles Seymour-Conway (1777-1842), third Marquess of Hertford (and Earl of Yarmouth until 1822), a relatively undistinguished courtier who became the first major collector of art in the family.²³ According to the *ODNB*, 'despite charm and obvious intellectual ability,' Lord Hertford's 'interests in politics were diverted substantially in later years by ... gambling and debauchery'.²⁴ Disraeli depicted him as Lord Monmouth in *Coningsby* (1844), and Thackeray portrayed him as the Marquess of

²⁰ Lewis, 35.103-04, to John Chute, 22 August 1758.

²¹ Lewis, 15.73. I have not found any reference to a manuscript digest of the Conway Papers among Walpole's property.

²² Lewis, 38.59.

²³ His grandson was Sir Richard Wallace, whose art collection forms the basis of the Wallace Collection, London.

²⁴ T. J. Hochstrasser, 'Francis Ingram-Seymour-Conway, second marquess of Hertford', *ODNB*. Note this is an entry on his father.

Steyne in *Vanity Fair* (1847-8); neither is a flattering characterisation.²⁵ Disraeli's Monmouth is often attended by the unpleasant Mr. Rigby, whom Jennings deemed 'one of the most repulsive objects in the whole range of modern fiction'.²⁶

Howard Peckham and others have identified Rigby with John Wilson Croker (1780-1857), the Tory politician who coined the term 'Conservative' and who has acquired a reputation for extreme unpleasantness.²⁷ However, it is largely thanks to his endeavours that the Conway Papers have survived as they are today. Croker's enemy Lord Macaulay claimed he was 'a man who would go a hundred miles through snow and sleet on top of a coach to search a parish register and prove a man illegitimate or a woman older than she says she is'.²⁸ In *Vanity Fair* Croker is characterised as Mr. Wenham, and in *Florence Macarthy*, a novel of 1818 by Sidney Owenson, Lady Morgan, he is presented as Conway Townsend Crawley. All three portraits are, in Lionel Stevenson's words, 'merciless vivisections'.²⁹ Morgan was particularly vicious to Croker: in 1805 she had organised the publication of *Cutchacutchoo, or the Jostling of the Innocents*, a pamphlet written 'with the deliberate intention of fathering it on Croker'.³⁰ *Cutchacutchoo* savages leading Dublin families, and even implies that Croker had invented a rude dance for local ladies: with their 'petticoats tucked tightly about their limbs', they would adopt 'a posture as near to sitting as possible' while 'preserving their equiponderance' (i.e. jutting out their rears), then 'jump about in a circle, and with an agility incredible to a

²⁵ Appropriately, when *Vanity Fair* was televised (A&E, 1998), the scenes set at Lord Steyne's seat were filmed at Ragley Hall.

²⁶ Louis J. Jennings (ed.), *The Croker Papers*, 3 vols. (1884), 1.236.

²⁷ Howard H. Peckham, *Guide to the Manuscript Collections in the William L. Clements Library* (Ann Arbor, MI, 1942), p. 67.

²⁸ *The New American Cyclopaedia*, eds. George Ripley and Charles A. Dana, 16 vols. (1858-63), 6.81. The anecdote is also recorded in Fergus Fleming, *Barrow's Boys* (1998), p. 10 [Fleming references *Fraser's Magazine*, vol. 3 (March 1831), but I could not find the story there]. Macaulay unfairly savaged Croker's edition of Boswell's *Life of Johnson* (1831), openly admitting to friends the malice behind his actions: 'See whether I do not dust that varlet's jacket for him in the next number of the *Blue and Yellow*. I detest him more than cold boiled veal.' Quoted in E. S. de Beer, 'Macaulay and Croker: The Review of Croker's Boswell', *RES*, n. s., 10 (1959), pp. 388-97, at p. 389.

²⁹ It is not just Crawley's first name that identifies this Croker character with the Conways: one of his Irish relatives is named Rawdon Crawley, and an ancestor is Sir Horace, names which immediately recall George Rawdon and Walpole himself. See A. Lionel Stevenson, 'Vanity Fair and Lady Morgan', *PMLA*, 48 (1933), pp. 547-51. As Stevenson shows, *Vanity Fair*'s Becky Sharp, who marries Thackeray's own Rawdon Crawley, was based on Morgan. For more on Morgan and Croker, see Myron Brightfield, *John Wilson Croker* (Berkeley, CA, 1940), esp. pp. 16-17, 332-5, 278-9.

³⁰ Brightfield, p. 22.

mere unprejudiced person.’ Or, more concisely: ‘Let each squat down upon her ham, / Jump like a goat, puck like a ram.’³¹

Sadly, Croker was a more sober man. He was Secretary to the Admiralty from 1809 until 1830, and served as MP for Yarmouth, Bodmin and Aldborough, all seats in Lord Hertford’s gift. Croker was also known for his literary interests, and produced an edition of Boswell’s *Life of Johnson* in 1831, appending Johnson and Boswell’s accounts of their journey to Scotland. He helped set up the *Quarterly Review* in 1809, in opposition to the Whig *Edinburgh Review* (established in 1802), and contributed numerous articles over the following years. His scathing responses to the Romantic poets earned him considerable notoriety, and Shelley famously blamed Croker’s review of *Endymion* for hastening the death of Keats. The majority of Croker’s papers are now held at the William L. Clements Library in Michigan;³² a further 6,300 items are kept at the Perkins Library at Duke University. A great number of his papers were edited by Louis J. Jennings, who was determined to salvage Croker’s reputation:

Few men whose names are known to the public have received harder usage than John Wilson Croker ... He was exhibited to the view of the world as ‘the wickedest of reviewers,’ with a ‘malignant ulcer’ in his mind; a man who employed his faculties ‘for the gratification of his own morbid inclination to give pain.’ ... a ‘bad, a very bad man: a scandal to politics and to letters.’³³

Whatever his personal faults (his *ODNB* entry follows Jennings in exonerating much of his behaviour), Croker was for many years Hertford’s most trusted adviser. As Jennings explains, Hertford was almost entirely reliant on the prudent advice of Croker, who ‘exercised a kind of practical superintendence’ over Ragley.³⁴ Croker was not a salaried assistant, but was left money in Hertford’s will.

³¹ Anon., *Cutchacutchoo, or the Jostling of the Innocents* (Dublin, 1805), p. 22. Thanks to Emma Peacocke for this reference.

³² They consist of 28 volumes of letter books, three volumes of indexes, 39 volumes of letters to Croker (1803-57; approximately 7,500 in total), and 20 volumes of Croker’s diaries and account books. His letter books record approximately 17,500 letters sent.

³³ Jennings, *Croker Papers*, 1.1-2.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 1.234.

Invited by Hertford to evaluate the Conway Papers, at an unknown date prior to 1824, Croker had examined them ‘to the extent of personally though very superficially looking over & examining a great number of them’, entrusting ‘several of the more curious which were in antiquated writing’ to an unidentified palaeographer, and showing Lord Hertford some of the more remarkable documents.³⁵ Croker’s nephew, Thomas Crofton Croker, is known to have transcribed a number of the manuscripts, and may be the expert alluded to. According to George Smythe, seventh Viscount Strangford, the papers were still in a ‘dirty & neglected mass’ at this point.³⁶ Like Walpole, Croker’s attention focused on letters of state, including

a vast deal of very curious matter relative to Mary Queen of Scots, to Queen Elizabeth herself, to the Spanish and French matches proposed for Prince Charles, & even to such details as a letter of very slender condolence from Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, Queen Elizabeth’s Ambassador in Scotland to Lord Robert Dudley (Lord Leicester) ‘on the much mischance late happened to my Lady your late bedfellow’.³⁷

Perhaps realising that his adviser would derive the greater benefit from the collection, Hertford gave the Conway Papers to Croker as a gift in 1824.³⁸ Hertford is reported (by Sir Frederic Madden, Keeper of Manuscripts at the British Museum) to have told his assistant, “My dear Croker, you will do me a favour to take them away to your own house and tear them up for ——” (adding a coarse expression, which may very easily be filled up).³⁹ Croker kept them as Hertford’s private property until Hertford’s death in 1842, probably at his cottage Molesey Grove, in West Molesey, Surrey, built in 1828, where he had a large library.⁴⁰ In 1842 Croker offered them to Hertford’s successor, Richard Seymour-Conway (1800-70), the fourth marquess, who declined to have them returned.

³⁵ WCRO, CR114A/614, to Sir George Grey, 1 August 1857.

³⁶ Diary of Sir Frederic Madden, Bod., MS Eng. hist. c. 173, 10 March 1854.

³⁷ WCRO, CR114A/614, to Sir George Grey, 1 August 1857. The latter document is now catalogued at SP 70/19, fol. 43, 10 October 1560. The bedfellow was Leicester’s wife, Amy Robsart, who died after a fall, thus making Dudley eligible to marry the Queen.

³⁸ *Calendar of State Papers, Ireland, James I, 1603-1606*, ed. C. W. Russell and John P. Prendergast, reprint (Nendeln and Liechtenstein, 1974), p. xxxii.

³⁹ Madden’s diary, 10 March 1854.

⁴⁰ Croker also had a house in Stokes Bay, Hampshire, an official apartment at Kensington Palace and, with the £26,000 left to him in Hertford’s will, he bought a large farm in Cheltenham. William Thomas, ‘John Wilson Croker’, *ODNB*.

Madden thought it remarkable that Croker had never published the Conway Papers.⁴¹ In fact, it seems that Croker had forged a deal with the second John Murray. An advertisement in a book published by Murray in 1821 claims the Conway Papers were ‘in the press’ at this time.⁴² However, it seems likely that the notice was inserted at a later date, because the advertisement itself is dated 1825. Corroborating this theory, an 1825-6 volume of *The Atheneum* announced that the Conway Papers were ‘about to be published, in London, in five large volumes’.⁴³ Interestingly, *A Critical Dictionary of English Literature* (1863) ascribes to Seymour Conway ‘Conway Papers, 5 vols. 8vo’ as if it had already been published,⁴⁴ but there is no record of it in any databases I have consulted, and in 1864 Isaac D’Israeli noted that the collection remained unpublished.⁴⁵ The project seems to have been abandoned by 28 January 1829, when D’Israeli wrote to Croker summing up the peculiar history of the Conway Papers:

What an odd fate have these Collections met with! They were made with great care, by very careless persons, since better means were not taken to preserve them. And now having in part escaped the fury of cooks, the critical nibblings of mice, and the mould of time, they have found, as it was presumed, an Editor, so skilful and spirited as yourself – a publisher so active as Mr. Murray, and a possessor so liberal as Lord Hertford – all to no purpose! With such unexpected good fortune the Conway papers will probably never be seen by the world, and, what is more important, never be consulted by the historian.⁴⁶

Just as Walpole had found more important matters standing in his way, Croker received the commission for his edition of Boswell’s *Life of Johnson* – the ‘unexpected good

⁴¹ Madden’s diary, 10 March 1854.

⁴² Felicia Dorothea Browne Hemans, *The Sceptic, a Poem* (1821), unnumbered page. The advertisement is dated 1825, perhaps suggesting an expected completion date. No mention of the Conway Papers is made in *A Publisher and his Friends*, ed. Samuel Smiles (1911). This is the second John Murray of this publishing family (1778-1843), one of the initiators of the *Quarterly Review*. Neither ‘Conway’ nor ‘Croker’ appears in the index of William Zachs, *The First John Murray and the Late Eighteenth Century London Book Trade* (Oxford, 1998).

⁴³ *The Atheneum; or, Spirit of the English Magazines*, 4 (1825-6), p. 87. There do not appear to be any Conway-related documents in Croker’s letters in the Murray archive at the National Library of Scotland: <http://digital.nls.uk/jma/mss/search/results.cfm> (accessed 29 June 2011).

⁴⁴ *A Critical Dictionary of English Literature*, ed. S. Austin Allibone, 3 vols. (Philadelphia, PA, 1863) 1.420.

⁴⁵ Isaac D’Israeli, *Curiosities of Literature*, 4 vols. (Cambridge, 1864), ed. Benjamin Disraeli, 4.302.

⁴⁶ Isaac D’Israeli to Croker, 28 January 1829, *The Croker Papers*, ed. Jennings, p. 40.

fortune' to which D'Israeli alludes.⁴⁷ So it was that Croker chose to bequeath the Conway manuscripts to the nation.

Croker's literary generosity is not usually mentioned by those wishing to redeem his more unpleasant traits. As early as 1816, he wrote to Joseph Planta at the British Museum to alert him to 2,000 volumes of French Revolution pamphlets on sale in Paris for a good price. Croker was thanked, but advised privately that he was 'a fool for his pains'; in fact, Croker seems to have intimated that his 'main desire was ... to benefit the national library.' Similarly, between late 1830 and early 1831 Croker sold his own collection of 21,000 French Revolution tracts at a price so low (£200), that upon arrival into the Museum, its trustees sent him more money (albeit only another £30) for his trouble. It seems quite clear that Croker conceived of his collecting at least partly as a philanthropic exercise, realising that his materials could benefit the nation if deposited carefully. There is another factor to consider, that by 1856 Croker needed space at his house at West Molesey, as it was due to be let. In this year Croker sold another 16,000 French Revolution tracts to the Museum for £200, enough to cover the cost of freight and indexes.⁴⁸ We should not be too cynical about this: as the editors of the Irish State Papers believed, 'conscious of failing health and advancing years, [Croker] became anxious at least to secure them for the purposes of history'.⁴⁹

Croker split the collection between the State Paper Office and the British Museum. The non-political material at the British Museum, he wrote, would be 'more accessible to the Class of persons likely to take any interest in them, than they would be in the State Paper Office, where they would be, in truth altogether out of place'.⁵⁰ Sir George Grey, Secretary of State for the Home Department, accepted the gift of the Conway Papers on behalf of the government.⁵¹ Conway wrote to Grey with his final commands from St. Alban's Bank, Hampton, on 9 August 1857, having been sent there by his physicians.

⁴⁷ Ibid., p. 40.

⁴⁸ P. R. Harris, *A History of the British Museum Library: 1753-1973* (1998), pp. 37, 73, 213-14.

⁴⁹ *Calendar of State Papers, Ireland, James I, 1603-1606*, ed. C. W. Russell and John P. Prendergast (1872), p. xxxii.

⁵⁰ Ibid., p. xxxii.

⁵¹ Jennings, *Croker Papers*, 3.377.

He asked that if ‘any thing like titles, deeds, or other documents, should have found their way into the collection [i.e. the material being given to the state], they should be carefully put aside, & returned to Lord Hertford’.⁵² It seems possible that Croker died with the Conway Papers on his mind – Miss Boislesve, Croker’s amanuensis, took two letters at his dictation on 10 August 1857, one to Lord Hertford, and one to Grey, both about the collection. Croker then retired to bed, shortly afterwards ringing his handbell for attention. By the time his friends arrived he had expired.

Arrival into the State Paper Office and British Museum

The Conway Papers were sent first to the State Paper Office, which by 1857 had been incorporated into the Public Record Office. They were delivered in two large boxes, containing about 60 volumes-worth of unbound papers, ‘many of which were almost beyond the hope of preservation’.⁵³ Using a conservative estimate of 200 folios per State Paper volume, this is equivalent to around 12,000 documents. State Paper Office records describe the Conway Papers as ‘a private collection of state papers apparently removed from official custody by Sir Edward Conway ... and by later Conway secretaries’.⁵⁴ The description continues:

The Conways appear to have taken papers from outside their terms of office, as well as those they generated themselves, for the papers extracted for inclusion in this class are of earlier date than their first secretaryship[.]⁵⁵

Once the papers had been sorted by Record Office officials, the private documents were passed on as agreed. At the British Museum, Madden recorded the imminent arrival of the archive on 7 January 1860, in a letter to John Romilly (1802-74), Master of the Rolls:

⁵² WCRO, CR114A/614.

⁵³ TNA, Introductory Note to State Papers Domestic, Charles I (SP 16). This and the following two references are to unpublished explanatory notes held in the paper catalogue at Kew, and supplied to me by archivists there.

⁵⁴ TNA, Introductory Note to State Papers Domestic, James I (SP 14).

⁵⁵ TNA, Introductory Note to State Papers Domestic, Edward VI–James I: Addenda (SP 15).

I cannot say I anticipate much ... it is clear enough that the Gentlemen at the State Paper Office have been allowed to take their own course, although the Museum was really entitled to the larger share of the Papers.⁵⁶

Four days later he noted that the papers received by the Museum 'consist of thirteen packets of Family Letters, papers on private and uninteresting matters, and some miscellaneous tracts and fragments of no value at all'.⁵⁷ His disappointment that the State Paper Office had taken what he considered the better material is palpable: 'I think that the Trustees have been treated shamefully in the matter', he wrote, and he was not alone in this opinion.⁵⁸ On 12 January, Madden noted a conversation with Sir Anthony Panizzi, the principal librarian, who 'told me that Lord Macaulay was strongly of opinion that the whole ought to have come to the Museum, and had he been now alive, he would have fought the question'.⁵⁹

A note by Romilly on 6 January 1860, describes the collection at this stage, with a schedule of the papers that gives an idea of their arrangement. After listing the main groups of correspondence, the schedule ends: 'Collection of miscellaneous poetry & verses, some with copies, & some with Mr Croker's notes on them' (now Add. MS 23,229, cited as B11), 'Collection of copies of Wills, of very miscellaneous character and dates', 'Collection of miscellaneous tracts, medical, religious, mathematical, topographical, &c, a large bundle' and 'Collection of private papers, treatises, drafts, tracts, &c, in the Conway Collection, all more or less imperfect'.⁶⁰ The Conway Papers are not among the 'Named Manuscript Collections and Archives' among the British Library online guides, but are now catalogued within the collection as follows: Add. MSS 23,212-21, 23,223-9, 23,231 and 23,234. The latter is a collection of drawings by Walpole, which immediately suggests a degree of confusion about what the 'Conway' archive might be expected to contain. This is a question that Croker had puzzled over

⁵⁶ Madden's diary, pp. 2-3.

⁵⁷ Ibid., pp. 12-13.

⁵⁸ Ibid., pp. 12-13.

⁵⁹ Ibid., p. 14.

⁶⁰ BL, Department of Manuscripts, uncatalogued departmental archives. Thanks to Arnold Hunt for his help with this material.

when he noticed that the collection included a large number of documents relating to the Throckmorton family:

I could not but wonder how so many of Sir Nicholas Throckmorton's papers should have got into a Conway collection, but on thinking over the matter it came to my recollection that I had formerly had something concerning the papers of Sir Nicholas Throckmorton in the Will of 'Sir Henry Wotton' in Isaac Walton's Life of the latter[.]⁶¹

A clause in Wotton's will did indeed explain that Wotton, who had been given Sir Nicholas's papers by his son Sir Arthur Throckmorton, left them to the state.⁶² He intended that Secretary Windebank would sort through them; it seems, as Croker explained, that the Throckmorton papers 'passed into the hands of the second Secretary Conway as representative of the King & became in the lapse of time forgotten & confounded with the "Conway Papers" properly so called.'⁶³ Wotton died in 1639, so if the Throckmorton papers passed into the Conway collection of state papers this must have happened during the secretaryship of the first Earl Conway. It is possible, therefore, that the Conway Papers may incorporate other, formerly discrete, collections.⁶⁴

What are the Conway Papers?

It seems quite right that the Throckmorton Papers should not be confused with the Conway Papers, but Croker's analysis invites an important question – what *are* the Conway Papers, 'properly so called'? Croker himself claimed that the term was 'something of a misnomer'. He was referring primarily to the presence of the Throckmorton Papers among the Conway Papers, but the complications are considerably greater than that. The largest proportion of known surviving Conway Papers, the stamped material for which there is little doubt of authenticity, is devoted to state papers: letters written, received, approved or copied by the two Secretaries of State, the first

⁶¹ WCRO, CR114A/614, Croker to Grey, 1 August 1857. There is nothing about this episode in David Novarr, *The Making of Walton's Lives* (Ithaca, NY, 1958).

⁶² See Logan Pearsall Smith, *The Life and Letters of Sir Henry Wotton*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1907), 1.217.

⁶³ Ibid.

⁶⁴ For the possibility of an archive of Sir Henry Goodere's manuscripts passing into the Conway Papers, see Chapter 5.

Viscount and the first Earl of Conway. Within this category, the kinds of letter are endless: military arrangements, drafts of trade legislature, courtly petitions, documents relating to the book trade and drafts of the King's personal letters are all in evidence.

As Secretary of State, the first Viscount kept letter-books, folio manuscripts, in which minutes of every letter he sent were noted by his secretaries; these books also count among the Conway Papers, and help establish the former existence of many manuscripts now lost. As the editors of the Irish State Papers note,

there is one not unimportant class of documents to which the Conway Papers have contributed a large supplement, – the Docquet of letters and other official papers, consisting of short and summary entries of the purport of the letters, and designed as a condensed record of their contents. When the original letter has disappeared, as very frequently happens, the historical value of the Docquet is incalculable.⁶⁵

Even though many original documents have been lost, the Conways' careful secretarial skills, which included the keeping of letter-books to record documents sent and received, attest to the existence of, and the most important information within, what seems like the great majority of them.⁶⁶ In addition to the state papers there are many personal documents pertaining to the family and their estate. As Lawrence Stone has shown, early modern families valued and cared for many of their manuscripts because they constituted legal agreements, largely relating to land, trade, financial transfers, family accounts and marriage;⁶⁷ there are a great number of such family records in the Conway Papers, including, for example, the disputes between Sir John Conway's friend Elizabeth Bourne and her husband Anthony, and the negotiations for the marriages of the first Viscount's children.

The Conway Papers share features with other contemporary archives. Like the Trumbull Papers, the Conway Papers represent a family archive that contains, by merit of that

⁶⁵ *Calendar of State Papers, Ireland, James I, 1603-1606*, pp. xxxiv-xxxv. There were so many domestic Conway docquets for the years 1625-6 that they were published as an appendix to *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, Charles I. 1625, 1626*, ed. John Bruce (1858).

⁶⁶ E.g. SP 14/214.

⁶⁷ Lawrence Stone, *The Crisis of the Aristocracy 1558-1641* (Oxford, 1965), pp. 274-5.

family's place in society, a large number of important documents relating to national politics. Both William Trumbulls had served the state, one as ambassador to Brussels, another as Clerk of the Privy Council, and their papers also include those of Georg Weckerlin, Latin secretary to Charles I.⁶⁸ On a much grander scale, the papers of William Cecil, Lord Burghley (incorporated into the Lansdowne manuscripts at the British Library) also combine state and domestic papers. Like the Conway Papers, our understanding of them is partly dependent on their subsequent provenance, and as a collection they are conceptually mediated by their incorporation into the collection of William Petty, Marquess of Lansdowne. The complications of the divided descent of such archives are carefully detailed by Simon Adams, in his account of the Leicester family papers.⁶⁹

Given that the Conways apparently stored 'every scrap of paper' they ever owned, another potentially illuminating corollary collection is the Verney Papers, an archive of 100,000 family and estate papers started by Sir Ralph Verney (1613-96), found 'bundled up in heaps on the floor, stacked against the walls, laid out on the trestle tables which filled the room' in which they were discovered. As Adrian Tinniswood describes the find:

There were playbills and rent rolls, newsletters and notebooks, medieval charters and Georgian verse. And there was an enormous amount of personal correspondence, which had been kept, it seemed, for no other reason than because it was there. (One bundle carried the label 'Private letters of no interest.') The documents ranged in date from the fourteenth century to the eighteenth; the seventeenth century was particularly well represented, with more than 30,000 private letters.⁷⁰

The Conways were in fact related to the Verneys through Sir John Conway's mother, Katherine, and the Conway Papers evince a similar dedication to the hoarding of documentary evidence. The principal difference is that the Verney cache has survived virtually intact, whereas the Conway Papers have suffered a host of vagaries.

⁶⁸ See *HMC Downshire* (75), vols. 5 and 6.

⁶⁹ Simon Adams, *Household Accounts and Disbursement Books of Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, 1558-1561, 1584-1486* (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 1-36.

⁷⁰ Adrian Tinniswood, *The Verneys* (2007), p. xiv.

As Peter Beal has explained, ‘the disposal of the Conway Papers presents peculiar problems of location and identification.’⁷¹ These problems of dispersal invite an analogy with the Scudamore Papers. Like the Conways, the Scudamore family were also successful Midlands gentry with links to both Sir Philip Sidney and the Earl of Essex; one member of the family, Sir Barnabas Scudamore, was a friend of the second Viscount Conway and the younger John Donne.⁷² Not only was a large portion of this important archive ‘in danger of rotting away and ... then nearly given away’,⁷³ its subsequent provenance is a story of dispersal and disorganisation. In his careful recreation of the Scudamore collection, Ian Atherton noted wearily that he had been ‘unable to detect any logic behind the division of the papers’.⁷⁴ The manuscripts were originally held at the Scudamore seat of Holme Lacy in Herefordshire, but with the death of the last descendants of the family in 1815 and 1820, the entire estate was embroiled in a vast and complex legal case, involving over a dozen claimants. Many of the Scudamore papers were taken into Chancery to be used as evidence, and were never reclaimed. Two cases of documents ended up in the possession of the Earl of Chesterfield, who claimed them as family property, but not, as one of his descendants lamented, ‘the valuable ones’; unfortunately, they were destroyed by bombs in World War II, having been placed for safekeeping with a London solicitor.⁷⁵ Some documents survive at Arundel Castle, others were sold in sales of the Duke of Norfolk’s library in 1816, 1817 and 1821. Other manuscripts were sold off in 1837, and found their way into the British Museum and the Folger as well as into local record offices and private collections.

What is missing from the Conway Papers?

Exploring a dispersed archive like the Conway or Scudamore Papers can only ever reveal part of the story; untold numbers of documents in each collection were destroyed or concealed by the original owners. The newsletter writer John Pory specifically

⁷¹ *Index*, 1.1.247.

⁷² Ian Atherton, ‘Scudamore family’, *ODNB*; Daniel Starza Smith, ‘Busy Young Fool, Unruly Son? New Light on John Donne Junior’, *RES*, new ser., 61 (2011), forthcoming.

⁷³ Ian Atherton, ‘John, 1st Viscount Scudamore 1601-71: A Career at Court and in the Country, 1602-43’, PhD diss. (Selwyn College, Cambridge, 1993), p. 12. See pp. 12-17 for the full account.

⁷⁴ Atherton, ‘John, 1st Viscount Scudamore 1601-71’, *ODNB*.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 13-14.

requested that Scudamore do as ‘other mine honorable patrones use to do’ and ‘committe all the letters I have or shall write to you, to the safest secretary in the world, the fire’.⁷⁶ It is clear that a great many of the Conway Papers were lost by damage and carelessness as well as deliberate acts of destruction. In the analysis of the boundaries of the collection, it is therefore useful to begin by explaining what the archive no longer contains. The first Viscount Conway’s study was sealed up at his death on the orders of Charles I in order to prevent the dissemination of sensitive documents, and it is likely that important state papers were removed at this time.⁷⁷ After the second Viscount’s death in 1655, his son seems to have sent at least one document, an ‘Extract of a Record’, to the antiquarian William Dugdale, from among his father’s ‘writings ... w^{ch} he kept very choisly’.⁷⁸ Walpole himself may have been careless with or dismissive of some documents, in addition to the ones he burnt: ‘I find that, to pack up your pictures,’ he wrote to Montagu in 1763, ‘Louis has taken some paper out of a hamper of waste, into which I had cast some of the Conway papers. Perhaps only as useless – however, if you find any such in the packing, be so good as to lay them by for me.’⁷⁹

Other manuscripts now presumed missing include ‘not a dozen’ papers that Walpole gave as gifts to ‘friends who were curious about autographs’, and judging from Walpole’s stated interests the material he shared was probably political rather than literary.⁸⁰ I have identified one friend of Walpole who certainly saw the papers, the poet

⁷⁶ John Pory to Viscount Scudamore, 17 December 1631, TNA, C115/M35/8388. Cf. Kevin Sharpe, *Personal Rule of Charles I*, pp. 682-3, 655-8, and Ian Atherton, ‘Newsletters in the Collection of the First Viscount Scudamore’, www.adam-matthew-publications.co.uk/digital_guides/sixteenth_and_seventeenth_century_newsletters_part_1/Notes-on-Editorial-Contributions.aspx (accessed 16 June 2010).

⁷⁷ SP 16/183/18, Henry, Earl of Holland to Secretary Dorchester, 24 January 1631. For the equivalent sequestration of Secretary Coke’s papers in 1634 – 50 volumes of manuscripts plus his will, which was never recovered – see *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, Charles I. 1629-1631*, ed. John Bruce (1860), p. xxvii. Cf. SP 16/123/57, an ‘Inventory of bundles and boxes of letters and papers turned over by Viscount Conway to Viscount Dorchester on the appointment of the latter as Secretary of State’, [Dec?] 1628, which is suggestive about the large size of Conway’s secretariat, and the careful librarianship it received.

⁷⁸ Edward, third Viscount Conway to William Dugdale, 3 August 1655, in *The Life, Diary, and Correspondence of Sir William Dugdale, Knight*, ed. William Hamper (1827), pp. 291-2.

⁷⁹ Walpole to Montagu, 3 October 1763. Lewis, 10.107.

⁸⁰ WCRO, CR114A/614, Croker to Grey, 1 August 1857. Walpole owned a vellum-bound copy of Sir John Conway’s *The Poesie of Floured Prayers* (1611), in duodecimo. Allen T. Hazen, *A Catalogue of Horace Walpole’s Library*, 3 vols. (1969), 2.311. This item is not mentioned in Walpole’s inventory of 1763, suggesting he did not acquire it in the 1750s when he made his discovery.

Thomas Gray (1716-71), a fellow pupil of Walpole's from Eton and Cambridge. In July 1759 Gray had moved into Thomas Warton's lodgings on Southampton Row; writing to his friend in September 1759 he complained: 'I live in the Musæum, & write volumes of antiquity. ... when I come home, I have a great heap of the Conway Papers (w^{ch} is a secret) to read, & make out. in short, I am up to the ears.'⁸¹ Walpole evidently employed Gray's palaeographical skills and archival patience in an attempt to sort the collection, at least some of which Gray had finished with by 1760. Gray wrote to William Mason on 27 June, after Mason had enquired what to do with some papers he had just received:

Dear Old Soul

I cannot figure to myself what you should mean by my old papers. I sent none; all I can make out is this – when I sent the *Musæus* and the Satire home to Mr. Fraser, my boy carried back the *Conway Papers* to a house in your street, as I remember they were divided into three parcels, on the least of which I had written the word 'nothing,' or 'of no consequence.' It did not consist of above twenty letters at most; and if you find anything about Mr. Bourne's affairs, or stewards' and servants' letters and bills, it is certainly so. This was carried to Mr. Fraser by mistake, and sent to Aston; and if this is the case, they may as well be burnt; but if there is a good number, and about affairs of State (which you may smell out), then it is one of the other parcels, and I am distressed, and must find some method of getting it up again. I think I had inscribed the two packets that signified anything, one, 'Papers of Queen Elizabeth or earlier,' the other, which was a great bundle, 'Papers of King James and Charles the First.' Pray Heaven it is neither of these; therefore do not be precipitate in burning.⁸²

Interestingly, BL, Add. MS 23,212, which contains numerous documents pertaining to the Bourne marriage controversy, begins with a note deeming it 'Letters of no importance'. It is not in Gray's distinctive hand, and contains more than 'twenty letters', but the note may have been copied from Gray's original. Fortunately for family historians and anyone interested in women's poetry, these were not burned – though they are emblematic of the kinds of material that might have been destroyed. Gray must also have received a large number of state papers, including a 'great bundle' of Stuart documents. Another contemporary antiquary who perused the collection was Philip Yorke, second Earl of Hardwicke, as Walpole revealed in August 1778: 'Lord Hardwicke I know, has long been my enemy – latterly, to get a sight of the Conway

⁸¹ *The Letters of Thomas Gray*, ed. Duncan C. Tovey, 3 vols. (1900-12), 2.100-5. 18 September 1759.

⁸² *Ibid.*, 2.149-50.

papers, he has paid great court to me, which, to show how little I regarded his enmity, I let him see, at least the most curious.’⁸³

I have found nothing to prove that Gray or Hardwicke removed documents permanently. Similarly, Croker thought that Walpole had not taken anything for himself, though he did note, ‘I have not afterwards happened to see some [manuscripts] that he had mentioned’.⁸⁴ Lord Hertford kept for himself not only material pertaining to his family and estates, but also ‘a considerable number of the most curious autographs which he had bound in a handsome folio volume’, and it is unclear whether this was kept by the family or given with the bequest after Hertford’s death. Hertford seems to have retained at least a few items that interested him, though like both Walpole and Croker his interest in the Conway Papers seems to have been primarily historical rather than literary: none of them mentions Donne, Jonson or the other poetical or dramatic manuscripts in the collections. Rather, some letters survive in transcripts with notes indicating that the originals were returned to Hertford.⁸⁵

Writing to Grey (not Gray) on 9 August 1857, just before he died, Croker explained that

some of probably the most curious of the papers have been formerly disposed of as curiosities. But of any that have been so moved since I have known them, I hope & indeed am pretty certain that I had copies made to replace them, so that for literary or historical purposes nothing is lost.⁸⁶

It is not clear at what point, in what way and by whom these ‘most curious’ papers were ‘disposed of’; perhaps Croker meant Walpole and his friends. As for the documents removed while the papers were under Croker’s jurisdiction, numerous official letters can be identified; in the *Calendar of State Papers* they are sometimes, but not always,

⁸³ Walpole to Cole, 22 August 1778, Lewis, 2.109. Cf. Stephanie L. Barczewski, ‘Philip Yorke, second earl of Hardwicke’, *ODNB*.

⁸⁴ WCRO, CR114A/614, Croker to Grey, 1 August 1857. Walpole did make his own copies of some Conway Papers documents, such as three letters from James I to Charles and Buckingham (14–15 June 1623). *Index*, 3.4.246. The originals survive at SP 94/27/20–5. Walpole’s copies were sold at Sotheby’s on 5 December 1921 (first Waller Sale), lot 62, and are now at the Lewis Walpole Library.

⁸⁵ SP 52/14, fol. 107. Queen Elizabeth to Throckmorton, 11 August 1567, ‘The orig. given to Lord Hertford.’; and SP 52/14, fol. 110, Cecil to Throckmorton, 11 August 1567, ‘Original to Lord Hertford’.

⁸⁶ WCRO, CR114A/614.

labelled ‘Modern copy of original formerly among the Conway Papers.’ These are listed in Appendix 6, and feature a significant focus on the Duke of Buckingham. One particularly interesting document records a letter from Piers Butler to Buckingham, 29 August 1625 (SP 16/521/140A). The original letter, which did not come into the PRO collection or the British Library, has been copied on to another letter from Butler to Buckingham, from 27 May, which *is* now located in the National Archives (SP 16/521/57).⁸⁷ This is suggestive evidence that Croker used seventeenth-century paper to make his notes, just as Arthur Collins used some of the Sidney papers for his own writings when preparing *Letters and Memorials of State* (1746) from originals at Penshurst.⁸⁸

The antiquary J. H. Markland wrote to the book collector T. F. Dibdin on 22 September 1824, ‘Last Sunday I had the opportunity of looking thro’ large packages of the Conway Papers. Had you or Mr D[awson] Turner been present, your hands must have been tied behind you – the Temptation to appropriate would have been too strong for the virtue of either.’⁸⁹ In fact, Croker himself appears to have taken some documents for his own autograph collection, which was sold at auction by Sotheby’s on 6 May 1858. The extent of his personal annexation of Conway Papers has never been fully noted, though he may have been responsible for the removal of around four dozen items.⁹⁰ Probable Conway Papers documents in Croker’s autograph collection included 13 letters sent to the first Viscount between 1623 and 1628.⁹¹ Notable correspondents among these are George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham (lots 18-21), Francis Bacon, Viscount St. Albans (9) and Henry Wriothesley, Earl of Southampton (158). Croker also owned a letter from Conway to Sir Robert Weston, 9 June 1624 (49). There are at least 19 letters to the later Secretary Conway, including his summons to Charles II’s coronation (37), a rare

⁸⁷ The 27 May letter preserves a seal with the Ormond crest and coronet.

⁸⁸ None of the Croker letters I have consulted in the UK or at the Huntington Library has been written on seventeenth-century paper.

⁸⁹ BL, Department of Manuscripts, uncatalogued departmental archives. Thanks to Arnold Hunt for this reference.

⁹⁰ Beal alludes to the matter in *Index*, 1.1.247. Buyers at the auction included: Lite, Knight, Moffatt, Waller, Anderdon, Pilkington, Holloway, Forster, Boone, Seaman, Hoskinson, Milnes, Skeffington, Lilly and Crane.

⁹¹ Lots 9, 15, 18-21, 50, 95, 127, 158, 204, 210 and 214. Lot 210 also includes a letter to the second Viscount Conway.

autograph letter by Valentine Greatrakes, the healer, concerning Lady Conway's illness (84) and thirteen letters of Jeremy Taylor, now held at Princeton (174-87).⁹² A letter from Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, to Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, 20 April 1562 (63) suggests that Croker took material from the Throckmorton Papers at Ragley as well as from the Conway Papers, and there are a number of other seventeenth-century documents that look likely to have come from the Conway collection, too,⁹³ not least the seven items pertaining to the Duke of Buckingham.⁹⁴

Croker's note on an envelope containing one of the Buckingham items – 'There were many of these' – seems to refer to the Conway Papers, where there are indeed a large number of letters and poems concerning the Duke.⁹⁵ Another note confirms that some of the other sixteenth- and seventeenth-century material derived from Ragley Hall: on an envelope enclosing a 1561 letter by Elizabeth I, in the hand of her tutor Roger Ascham (lot 66), Croker wrote that Lord Hertford had given him various 'letters', 'to make a volume for myself, like a very fine and curious one I made for him.'⁹⁶ It is not clear if Croker ever made himself such a volume or whether it has survived. The volume he made for Hertford has not been identified; it cannot be B11, which does not contain letters. Thomas Crofton Croker, who certainly transcribed some documents, may also have taken some for his own purposes, although I have not located anything among those of his manuscripts that I have consulted.⁹⁷ Albert Hollaender argues the likelihood that further removals from the archive are now in private hands: as recently as February 1958, two letters bearing the Conway Papers stamp emerged at auction.⁹⁸ Some material

⁹² Lots 25, 37, 48, 71, 84, 133 (four letters, not all to Conway), 148 and 174-87. The Jeremy Taylor letters are held in the Robert H. Taylor collection at Princeton, Modern (Bound) Manuscripts 134. The letter from Greatrakes was bought by Richard Monckton Milnes and was sold at Christie's on 26 November 1997, lot 190, for £1300. Taylor also gave a presentation manuscript of his *Symbolon Athikopolemikon* to the Earl of Conway in 1657. It is now held at Northern Illinois University (no shelfmark).

⁹³ Lots 35, 36, 38, 39, 66, 68, 70 and 89.

⁹⁴ Lots 14, 22, 42, 61, 69, 163 and 208.

⁹⁵ Lot 69, two panegyrics on Buckingham's assassin, John Felton.

⁹⁶ *Index*, 1.1.247. This is now Folger MS 697.1.

⁹⁷ BL, Add. MS 38,622 (transcriptions of English plays, in various hands); BL, Add. MSS 20,091-4, collections for a history of the ballad literature of Ireland; BL, Add. MS 19,834. 'Certain Chronicular Discourses [of affairs in Ireland] for the yeares of our Lord God 1612, 1613, 1614, 1615', originally collected by William Farmer Chirurgion, later belonging to T. C. Croker.

⁹⁸ Two letters from R. Yeo in Torrington, Devon, dated 2 December 1629 and 5 January 1641. See Ifan Kyrle Fletcher (22 Buckingham Gate, London), *Autograph Letters, Manuscripts*, Catalogue no. 182, p. 28,

may survive at Ragley; a large folio of Daniel Rogers's poems had been stored separately from the manuscript separates, and was reported by the HMC in 1874 (the Hertford Manuscript, see Chapter 2, p. 53).⁹⁹

Among the 60 volumes-worth of unbound papers that were recovered, a great deal had deteriorated too badly to save, whether by damp, mistreatment or the appetites of Ragley Hall's rodents. A number of prose tracts in manuscript that have survived at the British Library give an indication of the kind of material that has probably been destroyed over the years. As manuscript books, they are more likely to have been library items than documents stored among letters and poetical separates, but the following have nevertheless been stamped 'Conway Papers'. A quarto treatise on the art of fencing (Add. MS 23,223), and another in octavo on military tactics (Add. MS 23,224), both dating from the seventeenth century, are manuscript booklets that have remained largely intact, and suggest some genres of writing the Conways had transcribed. Similarly, Add. MS 23,225 is a quarto booklet containing medical, confectionary and perfume recipes in Italian and Latin, and attributed to 'Dr. Coladon', presumably Jean Colladon, the Genevan doctor who was naturalised by Charles II and became Sir John Colladon.

Add. MS 23,220, which contains music and tracts on music, written on fifteenth-century paper, stands in for what might have been a considerable manuscript music collection. Add. MS 23,228, containing miscellaneous surviving fragments, indicates that the Conways owned manuscript transcriptions of sermons, too – a notable absence from the remainder of their collections, especially given the first Viscount's piety. Similarly, a manuscript treatise by Francis Bacon (SP 14/140/60; see Chapter 5, pp. 237-8), while not precisely literature, is indicative of a wider remit of acquisition for which much evidence has probably been lost. Manuscript books without the Conway Papers stamp also survive: a miscellany of Cavalier verse and balladry at the Huntington Library, and a volume of Richard Fanshawe's poetry in the Bodleian (see Chapter 2, p. 92). These are

item no. 171, priced at £5 5s. Cited in Albert E. J. Hollaender, 'Some English documents on the end of Wallenstein', *BJRL*, 40 (1958), pp. 358-90, at p. 374.

⁹⁹ *Fourth Report of The Royal Commission of Historical Manuscripts*, Part 1, Report and Appendix (1874), pp. 251-4.

both identified by the second Viscount's gilt crest on the binding, and although they do not strictly constitute Conway Papers, each is indicative that the Conways owned bound manuscript books as well as separates and fascicles (small gatherings).¹⁰⁰

References exist to several important works formerly located among the Conway Papers that are now apparently missing. Perhaps the easiest to account for is a manuscript copy of Henry Percy, ninth Earl of Northumberland's *Advice to His Son*, dating to around 1625. G. B. Harrison's edition of this work was based on a manuscript in his collection, lacking a title-page but bearing an inscription in 'an eighteenth-century hand' that reads 'Advice for Edward Lord Viset Conway to his Son'.¹⁰¹ This manuscript is now in the Beinecke Library (Osborn c431).¹⁰² I agree with Harrison that it probably derived from Petworth in the time of the second Viscount Conway and, left unattributed, was assumed to have been composed by a member of the Conway family when discovered at Ragley. Another apparently missing item is a manuscript journal composed by Sir Henry Wotton. In his list of Wotton's known writings, Anthony Wood recorded a 'Journal of his Embassies to Venice.-MS. fairly written in the Library of Edw. Lord Conway.'¹⁰³ Given the date of Wood's work (1691), it seems likely he is referring to the first Earl of Conway's library, and we might suppose that this volume entered the collection along with the Throckmorton papers detailed above. But we should not discount the possibility that either the first or the second Viscounts acquired it; I have found no other references to this lost manuscript. According to Isaac D'Israeli, Conway kept his own manuscript journal, too, about the Duke of Buckingham, which 'if not destroyed, ought to be' in the Conway Papers.¹⁰⁴ This is the singular reference I have found to such a document, and the use of the word 'journal' may be misleading – so many Conway Papers relate to

¹⁰⁰ HEH, HM 16522; Bod. MS Firth c. 1.

¹⁰¹ Henry Percy, *Advice to His Son*, ed. G. B. Harrison (1930), p. 46. Harrison's private collection is not mentioned in his autobiography *One Man in his Time* (Palmerston North, 1985). Thanks to John C. Ross for his help tracing Harrison's papers. Harrison's manuscript is not mentioned in Gordon R. Batho and Stephen Clucas (eds.), *The Wizard Earl's Advices to his Son* (2002); cf. H. R. Woudhuysen, 'Handsome Advice', *TLS*, 8 October 2004, p. 27.

¹⁰² Thanks to Kate Hutchens at the University of Michigan Special Collections Library for help tracking down this manuscript.

¹⁰³ Anthony à Wood, *Athenæ Oxonienses ... to which are added the Fasti*, ed. and cont. Philip Bliss, 4 vols. (1813-20 [first edn. 1691]), 2.646.

¹⁰⁴ Jennings, *Croker Papers*, p. 40.

Buckingham that together they give the impression of a deliberate collection, whereas they may simply testify to Conway's secretarial role. Wood also records a manuscript mathematical treatise, '*Treatise of building of Ships*', by Henry Gellibrand, professor of astronomy of Gresham College, which 'after its author's death [in 1637], came into the hands of Edward lord Conway'.¹⁰⁵ I have been unable to locate this, but Wood's knowledge of the Conway library's contents at this point is nevertheless interesting in itself, for it allows that he too may have been responsible for removing items.

Finally, on the subject of missing material, one important literary manuscript remains to be accounted for. The online *Lost Plays Database* lists a 'lost' play called *Philipo and Hippolito*, recorded in Henslowe's diary between July and September 1594.¹⁰⁶ An entry by Humphrey Moseley in the Stationers' Register for 1660 records 'Philenzo & Hypollita, a TragiComedy' as one of Philip Massinger's plays, now also lost.¹⁰⁷ John Payne Collier believed the latter work was 'revived and altered' from the former,¹⁰⁸ and in his 1845 edition of Henslowe's diary Collier glossed a reference to *Philenzo and Hippolyta* by claiming, 'We have been informed ... that Massinger's play ... has been recovered in MS, having been found among the Conway Papers'.¹⁰⁹ This is certainly an intriguing possibility, because Timothy Raylor has identified Massinger as a member of the Order of the Fancy, a coterie patronised by the second Viscount Conway.¹¹⁰ Because the claim was made by Collier, the most notorious forger of early modern drama, one must treat it with a degree of suspicion.¹¹¹ G. E. Bentley could not locate the manuscript,

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., 2.622-3.

¹⁰⁶ *Lost Plays Database*, gen. ed. Roslyn L. Knutson (University of Melbourne, 2009; accessed 19 June 2010), www.lostplays.org/index.php/Philipo_and_Hippolito. Thanks to Grace Ioppolo and Tom Rutter for their advice on this matter.

¹⁰⁷ The history of this lost play is usefully recorded in *The Plays and Poems of Philip Massinger*, ed. Philip Edwards and Colin Gibson, 5 vols. (Oxford, 1976), 1.xxv-xxviii.

¹⁰⁸ John Payne Collier (ed.), *The Diary of Philip Henslowe, from 1591 to 1609* (1845), p. 55.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., p. xxxi. This manuscript is not mentioned in *Index*. Collier claimed to have found a copy of Wotton's 'The Character of a Happy Life' among the Alleyn Papers at Dulwich College, but this too remains unlocated. *Index*, 1.2.565 (WoH 3).

¹¹⁰ Raylor, *Cavaliers*, pp. 84-97. See Chapter 2, pp. 77-9.

¹¹¹ The Conway Papers are not named in the Freemans' work on Collier, but this primarily implies that he did not attempt to pass off a forgery of this play. Arthur Freeman and Janet Ing Freeman, *John Payne Collier: Scholarship and Forgery in the Nineteenth Century*, 2 vols. (New Haven, CT, 2004).

claiming that ‘Collier must have been mistaken’, and neither Greg nor Chambers felt satisfied with the attribution.¹¹² The editors of the *Lost Plays Database* have decided that

Since the Massinger play, *Philenzo and Hippolyta*, remains lost, one must assume that Collier erred in claiming its survival in the Conway Papers (whatever they are).¹¹³

Collier in fact only claimed to be repeating someone else’s discovery, perhaps even Croker’s: Collier’s statement is, after all, contemporaneous with Croker’s possession of the manuscripts, so there is a possibility that the document remains to be discovered.

Dispersal of the Conway Papers

The other major challenge to accurate editorial investigation is the dispersal of the collection into libraries around the world, and even their arrangements within those libraries. The division between the Public Record Office (now the National Archives) and the British Museum (now incorporated into the collections of the British Library) was intended to split the collection into state and private papers. However, significant literary works survive in the Conway Papers at Kew and modern historiography now deems many documents at the British Library worthy of serious historical research.¹¹⁴ Within the National Archives the Conway Papers have been distributed chronologically through the collections rather than preserved as an independent cache, making them harder to study *en masse*; although this makes sense for the study of state papers, it is nevertheless unfortunate that they were never catalogued separately. Some important literary works that are known to derive from the Conway collection have ended up in the Bodleian, Huntington and Folger Shakespeare libraries (see Appendix 11 for details). One of these was in fact removed from the main body of the Conway Papers by Croker himself: Sir John Davies’s *Entertainment at Harefield*, now at the Folger, was lot 67 in the Croker sale. Others are located in unexpected parts of the known collections.

¹¹² G. E. Bentley, *The Jacobean and Caroline Stage*, 7 vols. (Oxford, 1941-56), 4.808. W. W. Greg (ed.), *Henslowe’s Diary*, 2 vols. (1908), 2.165-6, item 46; E. K. Chambers, *The Elizabethan Stage*, 4 vols. (Oxford, 1923, rpt. 1974), 2.145.

¹¹³ *LPD*. This chapter, I hope, addresses the parenthetical question.

¹¹⁴ See e.g. James Daybell’s work on the documents originally catalogued as being ‘of no importance’. ‘Elizabeth Bourne (fl. 1570s-1580s): A New Elizabethan Woman Poet’, *NQ*, n. s., 52 (2005), pp. 176-8.

Elizabeth Bourne's 'I hope, what happe?' forms part of a letter to Sir John Conway (BL, Add. MS 23,212, fol. 104v). An anonymous verse entitled 'To my double hearted M^{rs}:' has been added in pencil, in a later hand, to a sixteenth-century quarto manuscript book, the *Annotationes ... Institutionum D. Justiniani Imperatoris Sacratissimi Principis* (BL, Add. MS 23,227, fol. 88r).

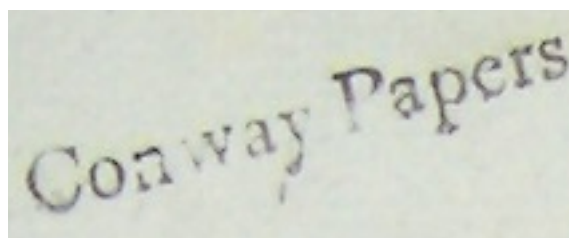
Due to these kinds of dispersal, it is even harder to know whether we should categorise the Conway Papers – meaning both the whole archive and the literary material within it – as a cohesive collection with some kind of unity of purpose, or a semi-random assortment of 'every scrap of paper [the family] ever had' (in Walpole's words). James Knowles correctly observes that the 'complex redistribution frustrates any detailed reconstruction of the original context.'¹¹⁵ Despite these complications, there is actually a danger of defining the Conway Papers as a neater unit than they actually were. With the creation of B11, a large bound volume of 170 folios, featuring about 125 poems, ballads, ditties and masques, the impression is potentially given that the Conway Papers poems were bound in this way in the seventeenth century. The fact that it is sometimes referred to as 'the Conway Manuscript' also misleadingly implies some kind of cohesiveness about its contents. In fact, there is no evidence for this. B11 is not a commonplace book or a poetical miscellany, one of the volumes into which an intellectually inclined man or woman would transcribe selections from their favourite authors; rather, it is a collection of miscellaneous manuscript separates and fascicles. One item in B11 sounds an important warning note: the sonnet 'Love and Jealousy' (fol. 45r-v) was written by Henry Carey, who was born in 1687 – thirty-two years after the second Viscount died. It therefore has virtually no bibliographical connection to the Tudor and Stuart material that forms the basis of this study.

Defining the Conway Papers

The remaining fragments of the Conway family's collection are now scattered through several repositories, and exist in varying stages of disrepair. To bring the manuscripts in

¹¹⁵ James Knowles, 'Jonson's *Entertainment at Britain's Burse*', in Martin Butler (ed.), *Re-Presenting Ben Jonson* (Basingstoke and London, 1999), pp. 114-51, at p. 118.

his possession under some sort of control, Croker identified the papers in his hands by marking them with the distinctive ‘Conway Papers’ stamp (27mm across):



I have identified material without the stamp that almost certainly derives from the Conway family papers. When I refer to Conway Papers, therefore, my definition of the term is not predicated purely on the easy identification afforded by the stamp. Indeed, fols. 32-33 of B11 are not stamped, and neither are two runs of manuscripts in BL Add. MS 23,213, a number of letters between the second Viscount to his daughter-in-law Anne (fols. 9r-25v) and a letter from Charles Coke to the third Edward Conway (1678-9, fols. 42r-48v and 51). Their presence in these volumes, both presented by Croker, makes it quite clear that they all derive from the collection. In this instance, the manuscripts were almost certainly left unstamped by accident, but they highlight the possibility of further omission by oversight elsewhere. As such, I treat the stamped papers as the primary evidence in my study of the Conway Papers, but will explore the validity and importance of other manuscripts when the bibliographical or provenance evidence indicates their origin in the Conway collection.

There are less clear-cut examples of unstamped Conway Papers material. SP 14/71/49A, an elegy on the death of Prince Henry, is not stamped but is in a hand (the so-called ‘para-Goodere’ hand) found throughout known material, and its unusual foliation associates it with SP 14/71/49B, another elegy on the prince, by Sir Henry Goodere, which is stamped. Several illuminated letters patent, granting the first Viscount his barony, viscountcy and the ownership of Conway Castle have survived and were never

stamped, but evidently constitute important Conway family documentation.¹¹⁶ A less serious manuscript, a letter to the second Viscount Conway from the younger John Donne, SP 46/96, fols. 213-14, is not stamped Conway Papers, but a State Paper Office transcription on fols. 215r-16v is headed 'Conway Papers D 37/1', strongly suggesting it derives from the collection. One bundle of papers in the Warwickshire Record Office, CR114A, is catalogued as Seymour Papers, and was given to the local archive in 1951 by Hugh Edward Conway Seymour (1930-97), eighth Marquess of Hertford. It includes two letters from Donne junior to the second Viscount Conway at Petworth, plus letters from Croker discussing the Conway Papers.¹¹⁷ A letter that reached a Conway must have once been in his possession: how can it not, on some level, be considered part of the Conway Papers, especially alongside a document from Croker? Another unstamped manuscript from CR114A is a 1632 document which lists around 80 deeds, grants and legal agreements, presumably made as an inventory after the first Viscount's death.¹¹⁸ Because it relates to documents kept in London, this manuscript suggests that items stamped 'Conway Papers' might represent only that portion of the family collection found at Ragley; however, the presence of Croker's hand strongly implies that he saw the unstamped CR114A papers while visiting Ragley. What the CR114A file clarifies is that, in fact, all Conway material was essentially Seymour property until it left the family holdings. The notion of 'Conway Papers', paradoxically, only became necessary when they were separated from the Seymour papers.

Identifying and categorising literary manuscripts in the Conway Papers

For the purposes of this thesis, I concentrate on the literary manuscripts among the Conway Papers, which exist both in bound volumes containing exclusively Conway Papers literature, and as individual documents scattered through the National Archives

¹¹⁶ WCRO, CR114A/261-263, Letters patent of creation as Baron Conway of Ragley, Letters patent of creation as Viscount Conway of Conway Castle, Letters patent of grant of Conway Castle, co. Caernarvon.

¹¹⁷ Other non-'Conway Papers' letters between Donne jr. and the second Viscount survive at University College London, the National Archives and in private collections. See my 'Busy Young Fool, Unruly Son?'

¹¹⁸ WCRO, CR114A/770, 'A note of such evidences, deeds and writings now belonging to the Right Honourable the Lord Viscount Conwey and Killulta as remayne now att London. Deeds of Arrow, Ragley, Luddington and Irish estates included. 1632.' Thanks to Amanda Williams at WCRO for help with this enquiry.

and other libraries. The principal bound collection is B11. A second important, though disputed, cache of literary manuscripts is the volume catalogued as SP 9/51 (*Variorum* siglum LP1), which is not stamped ‘Conway Papers’ but does, I believe, derive from the same collection. Finally, numerous individual poems can be found foliated between runs of state papers mainly catalogued under SP 14 and SP 16. It is important to realise the artificiality of these subdivisions. Very little about the current cataloguing of the Conway Papers attests to their original state of creation or storage. Bibliographical evidence – such as stitch marks, contemporary pagination, and corresponding damage marks between manuscripts – indicates that some of the surviving manuscripts were once part of bound volumes, but that these gatherings comprised discrete units. In other words, the Conways themselves did not copy or bind the surviving poems into miscellanies as many of their contemporaries did. (They may well have bound together other volumes which have not survived.) James Knowles has shown that Middleton’s *Barkham Entertainment* (SP 14/129/53), in the hand of Ralph Crane, and the anonymous ‘Running Masque’ (B11, 3r-8r) were once stored together, as they both suffer identical water damage.¹¹⁹ The family’s literary manuscripts appear to have been stored as separate documents, and only became part of the groupings B11, LP1, SP 16, etc., in the nineteenth century. Nevertheless, it remains useful for present-day researchers to examine each one separately. For a full list of all works, see Appendix 11.

British Library, Add. MS 23,229 – B11

B11 is the undisputed principal repository of Conway Papers literature. Its 170 folios are numbered in pencil in Croker’s hand; an additional folio featuring writing, conjugate with fol. 34, is unnumbered, and I have designated it fol. 34B. Five folios (1, 2, 9, 23, 27) are not seventeenth-century manuscripts but additions by the volume’s compiler. An unnumbered leaf between fols. 86 and 87 has been inserted to protect the remains of a wax seal on fol. 86v. All manuscripts are marked with the Conway Papers stamp, apart from fols. 32 and 33; as argued above, this was probably an oversight. None of the manuscripts has gilded edges, suggesting that little of the material was formally presented, although the variety of hands here and elsewhere indicates a large number of

¹¹⁹ Knowles, ‘Running Masque’, pp. 85-6.

scribal sources. The volume contains a mixture of manuscript separates (a single sheet bearing one or more poems), partly intact remains of larger gatherings, and single leaves that were once part of gatherings but which have since become detached. On two occasions (fols. 24r-26r, 28r-29v) poems exist in duplicate because Croker made transcriptions. One poem is bound alongside a contemporary copy (fol. 154r-155v) and one poem can be found in the Spanish original and an English translation on the same bifolium (fol. 74r-75r). One manuscript (fol. 133r-v) is a duplicate of a manuscript now in the National Archives (SP 14/71/49B). Discounting both modern and contemporary duplicates, there are 125 literary works in B11, if one counts the indistinct run of manuscripts between fols. 116r-130v as eleven poems. The tally is inexact, however: damaged fragments as small as fol. 140r (five and a half lines) are counted as entire poems, non-literary fragments of writing have not been counted, and on occasion it has not been possible to distinguish whether a manuscript contains one or more works.

B11 consists principally of poetry and ballads, though drama (fols. 3r-8r) and political libels are both present too. There are several references to sung performance, six manuscripts use the word 'song' to describe themselves and one manuscript features musical notation (fols. 24r-25r). The majority of the documents are in English; 13 poems (over 18 folios, with one poem in duplicate) are in Latin, three in French (fols. 165r-168v), one in Dutch (fol. 169r-v) and one in Spanish (fol. 74r). The composition and the transcription of some of the material can be dated with a degree of confidence – when individuals are mentioned in libels, for example – some of it by inference. Some of the manuscripts were very likely collected by the second Viscount Conway, who died in 1631: poems by Sir John Denham or Sir John Suckling, for example, or in the hand of George Gerrard, his close friend (fol. 50r). Other items can be associated directly with the first Viscount, including the Spanish poem in his own hand and others transcribed by his contemporaries, like Richard Connock (fol. 35r) and Sir Henry Goodere (see Chapter 4, pp. 165-196).

National Archives, SP 9/51 – LP1

There has been some debate about whether LP1 derives from the Conway Papers, but I argue that it should be accepted as such. LP1 is a bound volume containing a further 31 works over 43 folios. Like B11, LP1 consists of manuscript separates, including several bifolia but no fascicles or booklets. None of the paper edges is gilded. Four poems are in Latin, three in French (fols. 1-2), and two in Spanish (fol. 34). Two poems by Peter Aspley (fols. 12-15) were sent from ‘Zirrickseas’, suggesting they derived from central Europe (Züricksee in Austria). The volume was bound by the National Archives in December 1982, and there is no evidence of earlier binding, so they probably existed as a loose bundle until then.¹²⁰ Gabriel Heaton accepts that LP1 probably does derive from the Conway Papers, but he also urges caution, noting correctly that Croker’s stamp is not visible anywhere in the volume.¹²¹ When the collection was dispersed between the British Museum and PRO, most literary Conway Manuscripts were distributed among the Domestic series of State Papers in class marks SP 14 and SP 16. LP1, on the other hand, is part of SP 9, which is based on the collection made by Sir Joseph Williamson, Keeper of State Papers between 1661 and 1702. Heaton traced the earliest reference to these papers in SP 9 to the ‘Press List of the Contents of the State Paper Branch Record Office Anterior to 1688’ but, as he notes, this description was made after the Conway Papers entered the collection.¹²² A catalogue of Williamson’s papers was made in 1849, pre-dating the incorporation of the Conway Papers in the late 1850s, but it covered only part of the collection.¹²³

It is important to note that SP 9 does contain a few stamped Conway Papers, including SP 9/95, a register of baptisms and marriages at the Brill and SP 9/193, a collection of nineteenth-century transcripts of Conway Papers. The most convincing argument for LP1’s inclusion in the canon, however, is the number of palaeographical overlaps it shares with known Conway Papers material. Sir Henry Goodere’s hand, found both in

¹²⁰ Heaton, ‘Performing Gifts’, pp. 118-9, book, p. 194.

¹²¹ ‘Entertaining Edward Conway’, paper delivered at ‘The Conways of Ragley: Courtiers and Collectors 1564-1655’, Birkbeck, University of London, 6 December 2009. See also Heaton, ‘Performing Gifts’, pp. 85, 112, and *Writing and Reading Royal Entertainments* (Oxford, 2010) pp. 192-4.

¹²² TNA, OBS 1/886/12, cited in Heaton, ‘Performing Gifts’, p. 120.

¹²³ F. S. Thomas, *A History of the State Paper Office* (1849), pp. 60-89.

B11 and across SP 16, was responsible for LP1, fols. 41-2, and the so-called ‘para-Goodere’ hand (discussed in Chapter 4), appears on fols. 23, 25 and 43. George Gerrard transcribed fol. 11 and, as Beal notes, one poem is addressed to the wife of Algernon Percy, tenth Earl of Northumberland, another of Conway’s close friends (fols. 39-40); it even mentions the second Viscount directly.¹²⁴ A distinctive hand, described by Beal as ‘somewhat immature’, copied out an anagram on Diana Cecil in LP1, fol. 19, and can be found in B11 on fols. 19, 80 and 81.¹²⁵ Similar nineteenth-century pencil markings, probably by Croker, are made on material in LP1, B11 (fols. 18v, 33r, 35v, 63v, 154v) and other Conway Papers in the State Papers. A hand identified for the first time in this thesis as being the second Viscount’s scribe in the 1640s, probably William Chambers, transcribed LP1, fol. 4r-v. One poem, Donne’s 1625 elegy on the Marquis of Hamilton (LP1, fols. 17-18), potentially argues yet further for a Conway connection.¹²⁶ Like the first Viscount Conway and later Donne himself, Hamilton was a member of the Virginia Company, so Conway may have had personal reasons for acquiring the poem: Goodere sent Conway Hamilton-related material in the 1620s (SP 14/180/15-17.1; see Chapter 5, pp. 216-28).

Miscellaneous State Papers

I have so far identified 33 further manuscripts now catalogued among the State Papers that are stamped Conway Papers and contain scribal copies of poetry or drama. Some of these are overtly political, for example the verses sent by Goodere (see Chapter 5), Davenant’s elegy on the death of King Charles’s daughter Elizabeth (SP 18/1/28) and elegies on Prince Henry. Others are more personally connected to the Conways: ‘An Epigramme on my Lord Conway’ (SP 16/1/21) and an acrostic spelling out ‘EDVARDVS CONVVAI’ (SP 16/525/97) are both clearly gifts to a patron, from relatively undistinguished clients, Alexander Spicer and ‘Tussanus le Marchant’ (see Chapter 2, pp. 61-3). The presence of important manuscript texts by Middleton, Jonson and Davies attests to a significant interest in contemporary drama. Middleton’s

¹²⁴ *Index* mis-cites it fols. 37-8.

¹²⁵ *Index*, 1.1.247.

¹²⁶ This manuscript is discussed in Baird W. Whitlock, ‘A Note on Two Donne Manuscripts’, *RN*, 18 (1965), pp. 9-11

Barkham Entertainment (SP 14/129/53) is in the hand of Ralph Crane, suggesting that the elder Edward Conway had access to Crane's privileged networks of transmission.¹²⁷

The miscellaneous and dispersed nature of these manuscripts is a salutary reminder that the literary Conway Papers were not found as a separate collection, but mixed among the other documents collected by the family. These papers, therefore, offer perhaps the closest approximation of the original reading and storage conditions of literary manuscripts in the Conway Papers.

A methodology for the Conway Papers

Establishing an effective methodology for the analysis of the Conway Papers requires acknowledging all the issues outlined above. As I have argued through this chapter, reading literature in the framework of the Conway Papers demands a particular awareness of the social context of the original readers, their archival practices and of the processes of circulation that formed their reading experience. As Roger Chartier observes, 'no text exists outside of the support that enables it to be read; any comprehension of a writing ... depends on the forms in which it reaches its reader'.¹²⁸ This is doubly true of the Conway Papers, in which we must be aware of our own reading situation while attempting to recover the original contexts. This study focuses on John Donne and his circle – but the circumference of that circle can be understood in a number of ways, including bibliographical as well as social interpretations. In the Conway Papers – reconstituted to their messiest state – we see Donne's work lying alongside rude ditties and official letters; neat presentation transcripts of poems next to rough, scrawled versions; paper from the early sixteenth century mixed up with paper from the late seventeenth century. The messy nature of the archive calls urgent attention to the physical state of the texts themselves. To investigate properly the literary works within, we must be aware of 'the entire sociohistory of the work – from its originary moments of production through all its subsequent reproductive adventures',¹²⁹ and we

¹²⁷ See T. H. Howard-Hill, *Ralph Crane and Some Shakespeare First Folio Comedies* (Charlottesville, VA, 1972), *passim*.

¹²⁸ Roger Chartier, 'Texts, Printing, Reading', in *The New Cultural History*, ed. Lynn Hunt (Berkeley, CA, 1989), p. 161.

¹²⁹ Jerome McGann, 'Theory of Texts', *LRB* (18 February 1988), p. 21.

must edit the manuscripts, as Arthur Marotti urges, ‘in sociocentric rather than in author-centric ways’.¹³⁰

In order to evaluate the Conway Papers without prejudice one must refragment the collection, analysing each manuscript on its own internal evidence before presuming to make links with other items. Just as the physical nature of each manuscript cumulatively creates the sense of an archive, so the total effect of the archive informs our reading of each individual document. The next chapter takes as its starting point the Conway Papers manuscripts that record poems by John Donne, using them both to navigate the Conway archive and to situate these particular documents within textual and social histories of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.

¹³⁰ Arthur Marotti, ‘Manuscript, Print, and the English Renaissance Lyric’, in *New Ways of Looking at Old Texts*, ed. W. Speed Hill (New York, 1993), pp. 209-22, p. 211.

Chapter 4

John Donne and the Conway Papers: *Satires, Verse Epistles and Sir Henry Goodere*

In Chapter 3, I outlined the scope of the Conway Papers: the literature collected as manuscript separates by the Conway family surviving over 170 leaves in B11, 43 in LP1, and numerous diverse papers mainly dispersed through the collections at the British Library and National Archives, with important witnesses surviving in the Bodleian, Huntington and Folger libraries. There are more than 200 identified literary manuscripts in total, and some of them contain hundreds of individual poems. The collection offers extensive scope for literary and bibliographical study, and has the potential to cast light on many subjects including manuscript circulation, the collection of poetry and drama and the history of patronage. Given that the archive cannot be reconstituted, one must work carefully with what remains. Scholars such as James Knowles, Timothy Raylor and Gabriel Heaton have made close bibliographical readings of individual manuscripts from the archive, and their success reveals the validity of a selective approach. This chapter principally investigates Conway Papers manuscripts that include work by John Donne and those that can be associated with his friends, including Rowland Woodward, Christopher Brooke, George Gerrard, John Hoskins, Ben Jonson and Sir Henry Goodere.

These manuscripts appear to have entered the Conway collection via disparate routes, in various hands and at different times. In order to evaluate their transmission histories I have grouped them according to their bibliographical evidence. I examine the manner in which these texts were created and understood by means of a collaborative process of writing, re-writing, copying, re-copying, sending, re-sending, reading and storing. Many of the manuscripts discussed below provoke questions of ownership, as literature is passed from poet to scribe, or from client to patron. These questions are particularly pertinent in the final section of the chapter, which investigates manuscripts in the hand of Sir Henry Goodere. The Conway Papers contain the largest collection of papers in Goodere's hand, and as a friend of both Donne and Jonson he potentially represents a direct route of

transmission between the authors and the Conway family. Because some of the literature is accompanied by his discussion of its transmission, and because much information survives about his friendship with Donne, Goodere is given prominence in the study. His copies of Donne poems are analysed in the last portion of this chapter, while his letters requesting patronage, and the poems that are known to have accompanied them, as well as Donne's 'Elegy on the Marquis of Hamilton' (*Ham*), are presented in Chapter 5, as a route into a wider discussion of poetry and patronage.

The first half of this chapter explores the rest of Donne's works in the Conway Papers: portions of the *Satires* and his verse epistles, both of which are placed in the context of other known extant manuscript witnesses. It is worth making a few general points at the outset. The composition dates of some of the works discussed below can be stated with a degree of confidence, but the date of their arrival in the Conway collection can be ascertained only in a few cases. When I state that a manuscript is written in a single hand, this does not acknowledge nineteenth-century pencil markings and rubber-stamping. None of the paper I discuss here is gilded, and none of the manuscripts bears elaborate prefaces and dedications, or (with one exception) particularly ostentatious penmanship, suggesting that the material consists of non-professional transcriptions rather than scribally produced presentation documents.¹ However, it is worth remembering, as H. R. Woudhuysen observes, that

A professional scribe might be able to make a more beautiful volume, but an author's own hand had something of his essential character in it. In the complex business of presenting a manuscript book as a gift to a potential or actual patron, the more individual, the more direct the transaction could be made, the better.²

The observation holds true for manuscripts circulated more informally within Jacobean and Caroline patronage networks: these documents afford insights into personal, nuanced interactions and require both bibliographical and historical analysis. However, the wider significance of Conway's ownership of them will be explored in Chapter 5.

¹ Cf. H. R. Woudhuysen, *Sir Philip Sidney and the Circulation of Manuscripts, 1559-1640* (Oxford, 1996), p. 91.

² *Ibid.*, p. 103.

In my analysis of manuscript literature, there are two issues at stake, each of which can illuminate the other: the original conditions of the work's composition and circulation, and the manuscript's presence in, and means of arrival into, the Conway Papers. The circulation of Donne's early verse necessarily originates with the poet himself; once it leaves his hands, however, Donne's poetry has a tendency to stray far and wide. In this chapter I describe the afterlife of some of Donne's early poems, beginning in the chambers of the Inns of Court, picking up momentum in the taverns of Elizabethan London, passing through both the English and Spanish courts, and ending (in Chapter 5) in the Netherlands.

I The *Satires*

Donne's *Satires* were fashionable diatribes against the ills of the time, such as preferment at court, or hypocrisy in religion, composed in the last decade of the sixteenth century. Their likely dates are as follows: *Satire I*, c.1593; *Satire II*, c.1594; *Satire III*, c.1595; *Satire IV*, March-July 1597; *Satire V*, c.1597 (henceforth *SatI-Sat5*).³ Their continued selective transmission more than a decade later is attested to by Ben Jonson's epigram 'To Lucy, Countesse of Bedford, with M. Donnes Satyres' (c.1608):⁴

...these, desir'd by you, the makers ends
 Crowne with their owne. Rare poemes aske rare friends.
 Yet, *Satyres*, since the most of mankind bee
 Their vn-auoided subiect, fewest see: ...
 They, then, that living where the matter is bred,
 Dare for these poemes, yet, both aske, and read,
 And like them too; must needfully, though few,
 Be of the best: and 'mongst those, best are you.⁵
 (5-14)

Bedford appears to have requested the *Satires* specifically, using Jonson as a conduit. Jonson, for his part, was keen that she acknowledge the importance of the poems. He

³ Based on the findings of Milgate and others, these dates have most recently been stated in Annabel Patterson, 'Satirical Writing: Donne in Shadows', in *The Cambridge Companion to John Donne*, ed. Achsah Guibbory (Cambridge, 2006), pp. 117-31, at pp. 118-20. For a fuller evaluation of the *Satires*, see M. Thomas Hester, *Kinde Pitty and Brave Scorn* (Durham, NC, 1982).

⁴ This date suggested by Patterson, *op. cit.*, p. 127.

⁵ Herford and Simpson, 8.60-1.

describes the *Satires* as ‘rare’ – meaning unusual, but also, perhaps, ‘raw’, because of their subject matter. The *Satires* hold humanity’s grosser failings to account, at the risk of offending those who live ‘where the matter is bred’. But they are ‘rare’ bibliographically, too, circulated in personalised, specially commissioned manuscript copies to only ‘the best’ of readers, via exclusive pathways of transmission. It was risky even to ‘ask’ for them, let alone ‘read, / And like them too’, and the subtle internal rhyme of ‘Rare’ and ‘Dare’ reinforces this impression. Typically, one notes, Jonson’s words do not only exalt Donne’s efforts and flatter Bedford as a privileged reader, they remind Bedford of Jonson’s efforts in procuring the poems.

Donne tried to suppress or at least limit the circulation of many early writings, specifically asking Sir Henry Goodere around 1600 to disseminate his paradoxes no further:

Sir though I know there low price[,] except I receave by your next letter an assurance upon the religion of your friendship that no copy shall be taken for any respect of *these or any other my compositions sent to you*, I shall sinne against my conscience if I send you any more ... I meane to acquaint you with all mine: and to my satyrs there belongs some feare and to some elegies and these perhaps, shame ... Therefore I am desirous to hide them[.]⁶

Donne’s *Satires*, in their early years of existence, were a limited commodity, and for specific reasons. Donne carefully distinguishes his concerns to Goodere: his elegies and paradoxes might cause him shame, and even put him in some political danger.⁷ Similarly, the paradoxes, witty jests when circulated to sympathetic friends, were potentially ‘misinterpretable’ – the word Donne later used to describe *Biathanatos* – should they fall into the hands of a reader insensitive to nuance or irony. The *Satires*, however, caused the poet ‘some feare’, for they were potentially seditious, especially (even as manuscripts) after the June 1599 Bishops’ Order against the printing of satires and epigrams.⁸ The very nature of the poems’ content compelled Donne to restrict their circulation.

⁶ Burley MS, fol. 308v, my emphasis. E. M. Simpson thought this letter was sent to Wotton, *A Study of the Prose Works of John Donne* (Oxford, 1948), p. 316.

⁷ Cf. Achsah Guibbory, ‘Erotic Poetry’, in *The Cambridge Companion*, pp. 133–47, at p. 134.

⁸ E. Arber (ed.), *A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London*, 5 vols. (1875–94), 3.316. Works by Hall, Marston, Guilpin and Middleton were burned in 1599; Patterson, ‘Satirical Writing’, p. 118.

Nevertheless, one of the most immediately striking items in B11 is the fascicle on fols. 95r-98r, a fragment of Donne's *Satire IV* and an entire witness of *Satire V*. The poems are written in an attractive calligraphic hand over two half-sheets of paper, folded once and quired to make eight writing sides, of which the first seven bear writing. The fascicle was evidently once part of a larger gathering, as the first page begins mid-way through a sentence, but it is not clear how large or inclusive the original booklet was. In Appendix 7, I have made several theoretical reconstructions of the Conway *Satires* booklet. These diagrams are suggestive about the form in which Donne's *Satires* circulated to early readers, and inform the discussion in this chapter. The bibliographical evidence strongly suggests that the Conway Papers manuscript was a professionally produced scribal product. Each page has four vertical folds at equal intervals, and the outer fold has been used as a margin. The manuscript features catchwords at the foot of each page of text except the last. Virgules are used to score off one of the catchwords – 'Satyrre/' (44) – as well as 'Canonical./' (43) and 'vanished./' (140), the final words on fols. 95v and 98r respectively. Margaret Crum notes that the manuscript has been ruled in dry point,⁹ and there is also evidence of stitching, as four holes are visible along the central folds of both sheets.

Line distribution is fairly regular, considering that three pages record either the beginning or end of a poem and thus do not adopt a normal lay-out. Discounting catchwords, lines are distributed as follows: fol. 95r, 22 lines; 95v, 20; 96r, 21; 96v, 22; 97r, 22; 97v, 21; 98r, 6. Each full page of text is appointed 22 lines, plus a catchword; this reduces to 21 lines plus catchword if a poem's title appears too, as titles are given the space of two ordinary lines. The ink on the outer bifolium (fol. 95r-v and fol. 98r-v) is lighter than that on the inner bifolium (fols. 96r-97v), strongly suggesting that the scribe wrote lines 135-140 immediately after writing lines 1-44, but before lines 45-134. In other words, the scribe calculated in advance how many pages were needed, and how many lines per page, then transcribed one whole sheet of paper before the other, rather than working in a linear fashion through the poem – or he was working from a similar booklet, which he separated

⁹ Margaret Crum, 'Notes on the Physical Characteristics of some Manuscripts of the Poems of Donne and of Henry King', *Library*, 5th ser., 16 (1961), pp. 121-32, at p. 129.

into its component sheets and copied faithfully. Because there is no catchword on the final page of poetry, nor any writing on fol. 98v, it is almost certain that *Satire V* was the final poem in the original collection. It is also logical to assume that the rest of the damaged Conway Papers fascicle contained at least the first three *Satires* in addition to *IV* and *V*.

Although the manuscript is unique in the Conway Papers for its handwriting and bibliographical appearance, further evidence about the conditions of its creation does exist. Because of the distinctive hand, the Conway copy of the *Satires* can be linked directly to the Leconfield manuscript, an important early collection of Donne's poetry currently held at Cambridge University Library (MS Add. 8467), and cited as Δ5 in *Index* and C8 in *Variorum*.¹⁰ C8 is a quarto volume which contains 85 Donne poems (including one poem transcribed twice) over 118 pages in the same hand as the B11 witness (two additional Donne poems, on fols. 63r-64v, have been added in another hand, and an index and some later corrections are the work of a third hand). Crum asserts that both C8 and the B11 manuscript are written on the same good-quality paper, measuring 239mm x 183mm per folio;¹¹ however, the paper of C8 is gilded, that of the Conway witness is not. This is probably due to a later owner of C8 having the paper planed and gilded when the volume was rebound.

Provenance

C8 was once in the private collection of Sir Geoffrey Keynes,¹² who bought it at Sotheby's on 23 April 1928, lot 41.¹³ C8 derives from the Leconfield Library, at Petworth House in Sussex, where Henry Percy, ninth Earl of Northumberland, died in 1632; a major book collector in his own right, Percy was apparently a close friend of Donne, and made representations in February 1602 to Sir George More on Donne's behalf after the poet's

¹⁰ The manuscript was originally identified in *HMC 6th report* (1877), Appendix, p. 312. Reproductions of pages from C8 can be found in Geoffrey Keynes, *Bibliotheca Bibliographici* (1964), facing p. 192 (DnJ 1344), and in Keynes, *Bibliography* (1958 edn.), facing p. 147 (DnJ 3768), and 1973 edn., facing p. 185 (DnJ 850). C8 was previously cited as *Lec*.

¹¹ Crum, p. 129.

¹² Keynes, *Bibliotheca*, no. 1860.

¹³ Keynes noted another bibliographical curiosity pertaining to C8: 'Strips of vellum used in the binding were taken from a leaf of a very large Bible written in England about the middle of the 12th century.' *Bibliotheca*, p. 191.

marriage to Anne More, which took place ‘about three weeks before Christmas’.¹⁴ Henry Percy knew the first Viscount Conway reasonably well, and his son Algernon was the second Viscount’s closest friend. Noting that C8 does not bear the Northumberland device, Beal argues that ‘theories as to how this MS might have come among the Percy collections at Petworth House cannot exclude the possibility of a connection with the Conway family.’¹⁵ Beal’s words intimate that C8 might derive *from* the Conway collection. In fact, as Beal acknowledges, the manuscript may have been produced under the auspices of the Percys, in the time of the ninth Earl.

Keynes identified surviving letter-books at Alnwick Castle which show that Henry Percy’s secretary wrote in a ‘an almost exactly similar hand’ to both C8 and fols. 95r-98r of B11.¹⁶ Unfortunately, Keynes did not identify the letter-books, and an examination of the Alnwick manuscripts kept on microfilm at the British Library has not proved conclusive.¹⁷ Hugh Potter was Henry Percy’s principal scribe at the time C8 was probably made.¹⁸ Potter was Percy’s ‘payer of foreign payments’ (1623-4), secretary (1627-33) and later MP for Berwick in 1640.¹⁹ Unfortunately, examination of documents known to be in his hand has not proved conclusive. Potter used two hands in his writings, one quite untidy mixed hand for the main body of text, with numerous secretary letter-forms, the other, for section

¹⁴ Bald accepts this friendship (*Life*, pp. 133-4), but Walton is his only source (*The Life of John Donne* (1658), p. 17). If there was further evidence, perhaps it was privately suppressed after Northumberland’s disgrace in 1605 (when he was associated with the Gunpowder Plotters), in order to protect his friends, many of whom came under suspicion. There is nothing that directly answers the question in the major Percy family resources compiled by G. R. Batho, Gerald Brenan or Edward Barrington de Fonblanque, although Donne seems to have dined with Percy at Sion in October 1622 (*Letters*, p. 229), as Bald notes (p. 439). Dennis Flynn has recently argued that Donne’s letter to Goodere from Paris in 1612 (*Letters*, pp. 54-7), about a nobleman whose land had been sequestered, referred to Percy. “‘If I get no more by it, yet it hath made me a Letter’”: Donne to Goodere, 17 [27] March 1612, from Paris’, paper delivered at John Donne Society 26th annual conference, Baton Rouge, LA, 17-19 February 2011.

¹⁵ *Index*, 1.1.248.

¹⁶ Keynes, *Bibliotheca*, p. 190. My thanks are due to John Wells at the Department of Manuscripts and University Archives, Cambridge University, and to Christopher Hunwick, archivist of the Northumberland Estates, for answering my enquiries about this manuscript.

¹⁷ BL, ‘Northumberland Papers at Alnwick’, microfilm M280-M416.

¹⁸ G. R. Batho, *The Household Papers of Henry Percy, Ninth Earl of Northumberland (1564-1632)* (1962), p. 160.

¹⁹ In 1669 he bequeathed £40 to the town of Alnwick to be distributed to the poor on Good Friday. W. Davidson, *A Descriptive and Historical View of Alnwick* (Alnwick, 1822), p. 191.

headings, neat and italic.²⁰ This latter hand shares some identical letter-forms with C8 and B11, but not enough to put the matter beyond dispute. If the hand cannot be linked directly to the time of Henry Percy, it is possible that the manuscript was transcribed later than 1632, during the primacy of his son the tenth Earl, and also that it did not originate with the Percys.

C8 and B11 are nevertheless intimately related. In addition to the similarity of handwriting, Milgate observes that the B11 fragment ‘constantly agrees with [C8] even in trivial details, and the only differences in wording’ are ‘slips in copying.’²¹ The two manuscripts thus share a common textual derivation, but in order to understand the relationship between C8 and B11, one must also consider another related artifact, the Balam manuscript, or C2 (Cambridge University Library, MS Add. 5778, formerly cited as C57, and Δ4 in *Index*). C2 is a folio volume of 133 leaves, including 97 poems by Donne in a single hand, plus other seventeenth-century poems (including three by Donne) in two other contemporary hands.²² The manuscript was owned by Dr. William Balam, also owner of the Dobell MS.²³ Helen Gardner has shown that C8 and C2 are textually related, and proposes that either the Leconfield MS was copied from Balam’s copy, or that both derived from a lost common original, which she calls *X*₃.²⁴

The *Satires*, however, present a complication to the textual provenance: while both C2 and C8 are predominantly associated with Group I Donne poems, their copy of the *Satires* is more complete and more reliable than the four-*Satire* unit found in Group I. This fact suggests that the *Satires* circulated as a discrete unit, and that the scribe of *X*₃ supplemented his Group I copy texts with a separate text of the *Satires*. As Gardner explains, the ‘scribe

²⁰ See e.g., accounts of Hugh Potter, disburser of sundry sums, rents and ‘foreign’ payments for years ending 2 Feb 1623/4, 12 Jan 1627/8, 1628/9, 1630/31, the last three years being in his capacity as secretary and paymaster for the purchase of lands in Sussex. West Sussex Record Office, PHA/611-614, 1624-1631. I am grateful to Lord Egremont for allowing me to consult these documents at Petworth.

²¹ John Donne, *The Satires, Epigrams and Verse Letters*, ed. W. Milgate (Oxford, 1967), p. xlii.

²² *Index*, 1.1.250. This manuscript is described in H. J. L. Robbie, ‘An Undescribed MS. of Donne’s Poems’, *RES*, 3 (1927), pp. 415-9.

²³ Harvard, MS Eng. 966.4. *Variorum* H05; *Index* Δ16; formerly *Dob*. Cf. Mabel Potter, ‘A Seventeenth-Century Literary Critic of John Donne: The Dobell Manuscript Re-Examined’, *HLB*, 22 (1975), pp. 63-89.

²⁴ John Donne, *The Divine Poems*, ed. Helen Gardner, 2nd edn. (Oxford, 1978), pp. lviii-lxiii.

may have already had a copy of the five *Satires* to which he added the other poems'.²⁵ Milgate concurs, but reverses the formulation, 'The compiler of *X* ... substituted for the four *Satires* in *X* [the Group I original] a complete set of five from another manuscript.'²⁶ This argument is borne out by a collation of B11 with C8: each manuscript features correct readings at points where the other features an error, so neither could have derived its text from the other. It is likely, therefore, that Henry Percy came into possession of Donne's *Satires I-V*, circulated as a separate bibliographical unit – designated Δ5 in the *Variorum* (not to be confused with Δ5, Beal's citation for C8) – and perhaps given to him directly by the poet, his friend since at least 1601.²⁷ Percy's scribe copied Δ5 into a large manuscript of Donne's poems, C8, and made a separate manuscript booklet, which found its way into Conway's collection.

Early circulation of the *Satires*

Further evidence about the *Satires* circulating together bolsters this argument. The *Satires* appear to have been transmitted with 'The Storme' and 'The Calme', in the form of a quarto manuscript 'booke', to which the minor poet Thomas Freeman alludes in his epigram 'To John Dunne':

The *Storme* describ'd, hath set thy name afloate,
Thy *Calme*, a gale of famous winde hath got:
Thy *Satyres* short, too soone we them o'relooke,
I pre thee Persius write a bigger booke.²⁸

This format is perhaps attested to in manuscript booklets surviving at the British Library (Harley MS 5110; Δ31 or B33), The Queen's College, Oxford (MS 216; Δ32 or OQ1; fols. 198-209), the V&A (Dyce 25.F.16; Δ33 or VA1), and in private ownership, the Heneage

²⁵ Gardner, *Divine Poems*, p. lxiii.

²⁶ Milgate, *Satires*, p. xliii. For more on *X*, the lost original, see Crum, 'Notes on the Physical Characteristics', pp. 121-32. Crum shows that *X* was probably a collection of books and sheets, rather than a single cohesive manuscript.

²⁷ Flynn has argued that Donne sailed to Cadiz with the Percy contingent in 1596, 'Donne, Henry Wotton, and the Earl of Essex', *JDJ*, 14 (1995), pp. 185-218, at pp. 199-200.

²⁸ Thomas Freeman, *Rubbe, and a Great Cast* (1614), epigram 84, cited in A. J. Smith, *John Donne: The Critical Heritage* (London and Boston, MA, 1975), p. 72. 'The Storme' may also have circulated with the epigram 'A Lame Begger' by 1603, when John Manningham copied them both (*The Diary of John Manningham of the Middle Temple, 1602-3*, ed. Robert Parker Sorlien (Hanover, NH, 1976), p. 156); Thomas Dekker also quoted both works together in 1607 (*A Knights Coniuring*, 1607, sig. B2r).

MS (Δ34 or P3). A copy of two of the *Satires* as part of a booklet was sold at Sotheby's in 2002 for £10,158, and is now in the Folger (X.d.580; F21).²⁹ In this last witness, owned in 1627 by 'Johannes Hall' (perhaps the solicitor John Hall, of Gray's Inn), *Sat1* and *Sat2* are written over 11 pages, followed by a list of other manuscript poems in a second hand, over two pages.³⁰ Beginning 'verses lent to M^r Murhouse / 1 Booke manuscript / in loose Papers', the list notes 30 titles also in the collection of the owner, including a number of poems by Donne, Carew, Drayton, King, Ayton, Pembroke and some anonymous verse, headed '7 decembr 1632'.³¹

Ten pages at the other end of the booklet recount various legal precepts, lending weight to the suggestion that the poems were circulated at the Inns of Court (see below, 'Six Verse Epistles', p. 145). Similarly, Milgate notes that by 1608 Francis Davison had compiled a list of 'Manuscripts to gett', including 'Satyres, Elegies, Epigrams &c. by John Don. q^{re}. some from Eleaz. Hodgson, Ben: Johnson'; this suggests he knew of a copy of the *Satires* in Jonson's possession.³² Davison's comment also offers a frustratingly brief glimpse into acquisitional habits – how was he planning to 'get' his manuscripts? Was he going to purchase them from a known copyist, request them directly from the poets, or rely on his friends to lend to him from their collections? The latter is the most likely option, given what we know of Davison's own circulation habits: on the other side of the leaf he wrote a list of manuscripts he had lent others, including 'John Duns Satyres. – my br. Christopher'.³³ It seems that he had given his original copy to his brother and sought to replace it with another.

²⁹ 'Contemporary manuscript of two verse Satires by Donne, with other related material, in a small miscellany', www.sothebys.com/app/live/lot/LotDetail.jsp?lot_id=3XCQ3, 12 December 2002, lot 191.

³⁰ In the 1630s Hall worked for Sir Walter Rudston (1597-1650), of Hayton, East Yorkshire, to whom the provenance of the document can be traced.

³¹ This list of poems is reproduced in Peter Beal, 'An Authorial Collection of Poems by Thomas Carew: The Gower Manuscript', *EMS*, 8 (2000), pp. 160-185, at pp. 181-3. The Donne poems recorded are: 'Epithalamium of the Palsgraue', 'The Primrose'; 'the Relique'; 'the Blossome'; 'the dampe', 'A valediction', 'the dreame', 'the Estasie', 'Loves ditty' [i.e. 'Love's Deity'], 'loues diett', 'The will', 'the Funerall'.

³² *A Poetical Rhapsody*, ed. A. H. Bullen ([S.L.], 1890), 1.i-iv. Quoted in Milgate, *Satires*, p. lix. I do not find this anecdote in Hyder Rollin's 1932 edition of the *Rhapsody*.

³³ Bullen, *op. cit.*, 1.i-iv.

Ben Jonson's epigram 'To Lucy, Countesse of Bedford, with M. Donnes Satyres', quoted above, indicates a selective transmission of these poems around 1608, the same time Jonson was sending his epigrams to Donne. Jonson and Donne were especially close in 1607, when Donne contributed a Latin epigram to *Volpone*.³⁴ Jonson's 1611 'Ode. To Sir William Sydney, on his Birth-day' (*The Forrest*, xiii) is fashioned around a conceit from *Sat3*, and his one-time amanuensis Samuel Sheppard drew on all five *Satires* and 11 other Donne poems in his own writings later in the century.³⁵ Jonson's 1629 play *The New Inn* echoes a line from 'The Calme', and although the late date of the allusion does not show that Jonson had read it alongside a document also containing the *Satires*, he had nevertheless memorised part of the poem by 1619.³⁶ Beal dates C8 to c.1620-32 but, given that the *Satires* were completed by 1597, the creation of the lost booklet Δ5 or another volume of the five *Satires* could have taken place any time between 1597 and 1632, the year of Percy's death.³⁷

Afterlife

B11 and C8 were written by the same scribe, and the (unverified) evidence from Keynes suggests that the scribe worked for Henry Percy, and that the manuscript was composed before 1632. The means by which it travelled from Petworth to Ragley, if that is indeed what happened, is less certain. The second Viscount Conway spent his retirement as Algernon Percy's guest at Petworth from 1650 at the latest, and it is highly likely that the manuscript came into his hands at this time, if not before. The two frequently shared books,³⁸ and both are associated with impressive family libraries. One important volume, a manuscript copy of the ninth Earl's *Advice to his Son*, is known to have moved from the

³⁴ For more on Donne's epigram, see Dennis Flynn, 'Donne's "Amicissimo, et Meritissimo Ben: Jonson" and the Daring of *Volpone*', *LI*, 6 (2004), pp. 368-89.

³⁵ Smith, *Critical Heritage*, pp. 35, 53.

³⁶ *The New Inn*, (4.4.252), Herford and Simpson, 6.47; cf. *Calm*, line 14. 'Conversations with William Drummond of Hawthornden', in Herford and Simpson, 1.133-47. Actually, the line he memorised, 'feathers and dust...' appears in both *Sat4* and *Calm*. For a lost and unidentified copy of 'A Satyre' owned by Drummond, see Chapter 5, p. 221.

³⁷ Milgate, *Satires*, p. xlvii, dates *Sat5* to 1598 because Everard Gilpin echoed *Sat1* in his satiric poem *Skiaethia* in that year. See R. M. Alden, *The Rise of Formal Satire in England* (Philadelphia, PA, 1899), p. 153, and R. E. Bennett, 'John Donne and Everard Gilpin', *RES*, 15 (1939), pp. 66-72. However, the year should be taken as a *terminus ad quem*.

³⁸ See Daniel Starza Smith, '"La Conquest du Sang Real": Edward, second Viscount Conway's Quest for Books', *From Compositor to Collector: Essays on the Book Trade*, eds. Matthew Day and John Hinks (2011, forthcoming).

Percy family library to the Conway collection, and indeed caused some confusion to an eighteenth-century cataloguer, who misattributed it ‘Advice for Edward Lord Visct Conway to his Son’.³⁹ While it is possible that the manuscript of the *Satires* was given by the ninth Earl of Northumberland to the first Viscount Conway, transmission from the tenth Earl to the second Viscount therefore seems much more likely.

One of the Conway Papers poems copied by Conway and Northumberland’s mutual friend George Gerrard (B11, fol. 50) was composed by John Hoskins, another of Donne’s friends, and part of a loosely defined intellectual circle that moved in the taverns of London in the early seventeenth century. This fluid group proves instrumental in the study of another Conway Papers manuscript containing six of Donne’s verse epistles. This manuscript affords insights not only into Conway’s collection habits, but into the intellectual and social networks within which poetry was composed and circulated in the early seventeenth century, specifically friendship groups formed at the Inns of Court and Parliament.

II Six Verse Epistles

B11, fol. 132r-v is a partially damaged half-sheet of paper measuring approximately 200mm x 290mm. It contains six Donne poems in the following order, here given with their canonical names, *Variorum* references and attributions within the Conway Papers witness:

<u>Variorum</u>	<u>Canonical name</u>	<u>B11</u>
ED	‘To E. of D. with Six Holy Sonnets’	‘L: of D’
TWPreg	‘To Mr. T. W.’ [‘Pregnant again’]	‘M T W’
TWHence	‘To Mr. T. W.’ [‘At once from hence’]	‘M T W’
RWZeal	‘To Mr. R. W.’ [‘Zealously my muse’]	‘M R: W.’
RWMind	‘To Mr. R. W.’ [‘Muse not that’]	‘R w’
CB	‘To Mr. C. B.’ [‘Thy friend whom’]	‘M C: B.’

Reasonable arguments can be constructed about both this manuscript and its poems, but those arguments rely largely on the identification of the epistles’ recipients. The following

³⁹ Henry Percy, *Advice to His Son*, ed. G. B. Harrison (1930), p. 46. For more on this manuscript, see Chapter 3, p. 122.

identifications have been accepted by the *Variorum* editors. ‘C. B.’ is most likely Christopher Brooke, who shared chambers with Donne from 1592 and witnessed his illicit marriage. ‘R. W.’ is almost certainly Rowland Woodward, and ‘T. W.’ his brother Thomas; Rowland definitely owned these poems, as I shall demonstrate. The first poem is the most problematic, referring to an ‘L’ of ‘D’, rather than an ‘E’ (i.e. a Lord rather than an Earl); in all early printed versions, and in the O’Flaherty manuscript (H6), ‘E. of D.’ is used. In B11, the poem also lacks the canonical qualifying phrase ‘with Six Holy Sonnets’ – quite rightly, for it is not accompanied by any holy sonnets.

The recipient can at least be identified with a degree of confidence. For a time Donne’s friend James Hay (c.1580-1636) was considered a viable option, but the fact that he was first Viscount Doncaster, then Earl of Carlisle – never Earl of Doncaster – makes this impossible.⁴⁰ Gardner and Grierson subsequently believed that the addressee of *ED* was Richard Sackville (1589-1624), third Earl of Dorset, who succeeded to the earldom in February 1609.⁴¹ Grierson thought *ED* might have been written to introduce the sequence *La Corona*; Gardner speculated that the poem was sent to Dorset in 1609 with six miscellaneous Holy Sonnets but not those of *Corona*.⁴² However, Dennis Flynn has recently contested Gardner and Grierson’s conclusions, finding *ED* to be ‘inconsistent with anything that Donne might have addressed to Sackville in 1609’. He suggests instead the more convincing candidature of William Stanley (1548-1630), Earl of Derby. Donne acknowledges the recipient to be a poet, whose ‘fatherly yet lusty rhyme ... wrought’ his own lines in reply (lines 3-4); both William Stanley and his elder brother Ferdinando were known as patrons of poets and as versifiers in their own right, whereas Dorset had no such reputation.⁴³ Crucially, William Stanley ‘was admitted to Lincoln’s Inn when Donne and Woodward were students there’ (matriculating on 13 August 1594),⁴⁴ and Flynn

⁴⁰ The candidature of James Hay is discussed and dismissed in *Variorum*, 7.1.lxxxix-xc.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 7.1.136.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 7.1.142.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 7.1.144. Ferdinando is an interesting figure in his own right. He patronised Shakespeare, Marlowe and Spenser, according to Henry VIII’s will his mother was Elizabeth I’s heir and he may have been assassinated by Jesuits. One of his daughters married John Egerton, Earl of Bridgewater, and another married Henry Hastings, fifth Earl of Huntingdon.

⁴⁴ Dennis Flynn, “‘Awry and squint’: The Dating of Donne’s Holy Sonnets”, *JDJ*, 7 (1988), pp. 35-46, at pp. 40-41. Brooke did not enter Lincoln’s Inn until 15 March 1587.

conjectured that Donne travelled abroad with Stanley between 1585 and 1587.⁴⁵ If Stanley was indeed the recipient, the poem must date from before 16 April 1594, when Ferdinando died and William succeeded as the sixth Earl. Until this point, Stanley would have held the title Lord, as the son of the fourth Earl of Derby. Confusingly, though, ‘Lord Derby’ is not quite the same as ‘Lord *of* Derby’, and the *Variorum* editors acknowledge that ‘L’ might be a mistranscription:

Whether this change ... reflects a misreading or [a later] scribe’s knowledge that the person originally labeled ‘L’ had in later life gone on to become ‘E’ is impossible to say.⁴⁶

However, the external evidence put forward by Flynn, linking Stanley to Brooke, Donne and the Woodwardes at the Inns of Court, is overwhelmingly convincing.

A sharp-eyed scribe, or even Donne himself, may have emended his poem’s title in copies circulated after William Stanley’s accession to the earldom. Conway’s copy of the poem, however, was not emended, suggesting either that it was made and sent before April 1594, or that it was copied uncritically from a witness made before that date. In 1594 Donne had not yet sailed to Cadiz, had not yet sent Brooke *Calm* and *Storm* and had perhaps not yet composed the second *Satire*; Edward Conway, the future first Viscount, had not yet received his knighthood. If there was a connection in the 1590s, it is more likely to have been at or after Cadiz, but I have found no indication that they met as early as this. It is therefore more likely that the B11 witness of these verse epistles was transcribed after April 1594, from a copy made before that date. Fortunately, a good deal of further evidence about this manuscript’s textual and bibliographical status can be deduced by investigating the Woodward brothers, Rowland (1573-1637) and Thomas (dates unknown).

The Woodwardes and the Westmoreland Manuscript

Donne was involved in sustained poetical correspondence with both Woodward brothers. He wrote four verse epistles to Thomas, *TWHail* (‘All hail, sweet poet, more full of more

⁴⁵ Dennis Flynn, *John Donne and the Ancient Catholic Nobility* (Bloomington, IN, 1995), p. 171.

⁴⁶ *Variorum*, 7.1.xcvii. Stringer *et al.* argue that ‘E’ was introduced by the scribe of WN1 (National Library of Wales, Dolau Cothi MS. 6748).

strong fire'), *TWHarsh* ('Haste thee harsh verse as fast as thy lame measure'), *TWHence* ('At once from hence, my lines and I depart') and *TWPreg* ('Pregnant again with th' old twins hope, and fear'), two of which feature in B11.⁴⁷ *TWPreg* is an answer to a letter – probably a verse letter – sent from Thomas, while *TWHence* solicits 'love' (line 14) from him in letter form. Donne's verse letters to Rowland Woodward are equally concerned with eliciting replies. *RWZeal* asks that his friend 'join ... thy Muse with mine' (11) by sending Donne a poem, while *RWMuse* implores more directly: 'Write then ...' (11). In *RWEnvy* ('Kindly I enuy thy songs perfection', not in B11), Donne claims a verse epistle from Rowland revived him: 'Oh, I was dead; but since thy song new life did give, / I recreated even by thy creature live' (13-14).⁴⁸ Chris Boswell calls these poems 'Provocative RSVPs', as they were partly intended to elicit further correspondence.⁴⁹ Thomas Woodward is known to have composed at least one poem in reply to verse epistles sent to him by Donne ('Thou sendst me prose & rimes'), important evidence that Donne's manuscript publication was not a one-sided endeavour.⁵⁰ Indeed, in one poem to Rowland (*RWThird*, 'Like one who in her third widowhood doth profess'), Donne explicitly comments on the circulation of his verse 'to few, yet to too many' (4), suggesting that control over the circulation of his work was slipping from his grasp.⁵¹ *RWThird* states that Donne would *not* send his friend certain verses, suggesting that Woodward received some of his material from a non-authorial source.

Neither Woodward has an *ODNB* entry, and Gosse, in 1899, singled out Rowland as the friend of Donne's 'about whom we would [most] gladly know more'.⁵² This probably

⁴⁷ *RWZeal* and *RWMind* are only recorded in B11 and NY3 (the Westmoreland Manuscript, New York Public Library, Berg Collection), discussed below.

⁴⁸ Another poem to Rowland, *RWSlumber*, contains a critique of Elizabeth's Guianan policy in late 1596 or early 1597. Donne also gave his friend a copy of *Pseudo-Martyr*; Bald, *Life*, p. 75.

⁴⁹ Chris Boswell, 'The Culture and Rhetoric of the Answer Poem: 1485-1626', PhD diss., University of Leeds, 2003, www.cultureandrhetoric.net (Culture and Rhetoric, 2008), p. 206. Not dissimilarly, *RWSlumb* ('If, as mine is, thy life a slumber be') attempts to simulate the author's presence for the absent reader.

⁵⁰ NY3, fols. 24-32. Printed in *The Poems of John Donne*, ed. Herbert J. C. Grierson, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1912), 2.166.

⁵¹ In the Bridgewater manuscript this poem is entitled 'A letter of Doctor Dunne to one that desired some of his papers', HEH, EL 6893, p. 82. William Empson called this poem the 'Refusal to Woodward', *Essays on Renaissance Literature: Donne and the New Philosophy*, ed. John Haffenden (Cambridge, 1993), p. 185.

⁵² Gosse, *Life and Letters* (1899), 1.318.

remains true, though M. C. Deas collected much useful information in 1931.⁵³ Woodward acted as Sir Henry Wotton's secretary around 1604-5, and was speaking of Wotton as a patron in the early 1620s.⁵⁴ Travelling with Wotton to Venice in 1605, Woodward was imprisoned by the Inquisition for spying in Milan. He was left for dead by robbers in 1607 while delivering dispatches from Italy to England; Thomas was reimbursed £60 for his brother's 'surgeons and diets' in February 1608. From 1608 Rowland worked for Thomas Ravis, Bishop of London, and he was eventually appointed Deputy Master of Ceremonies to Sir John Finnet in 1630. Woodward was friends with Francis Windebank, whose sister he tutored in poetry and Italian, to whom he complained about the lack of financial reward in Wotton's service, and to whom he circulated a poem on the Prince's birth.⁵⁵ George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, tried to have Woodward posted to Brussels in 1615 to accompany William Trumbull. The embassy was never launched, but Buckingham's direct patronage of Woodward may suggest a connection to Conway, for although Woodward's hand does not appear in the Conway Papers, and I have not identified any surviving correspondence between the two men, Donne's friend has a special relevance to the Conway Papers verse letters.⁵⁶

Not only are the Woodwards mentioned directly in the titles of four of these poems, but Rowland was also responsible for transcribing the Westmoreland Manuscript (NY3; previously cited as *W* and Δ19 in *Index*), a document very closely related to the Conway witness.⁵⁷ NY3 records the same verse letters as B11, in the same order. Exclusively in the Donne manuscript canon, both their texts of *ED* use the title 'L. of D.' rather than 'E. of D.' (NY3's title is 'To L. of D.'), and they correspond in a large number of textual variants.

⁵³ M. C. Deas, 'A Note on Rowland Woodward, the Friend of Donne', *RES*, 7 (1931), pp. 454-7. My thanks to Henry Woudhuysen for giving me access to his forthcoming article, 'Sir Philip Sidney's *Astrophil and Stella* Abbreviated: A Note on Rowland Woodward', in *'In the Prayse of Writing': Early Modern Manuscript Studies: Essays in Honour of Peter Beal*, eds. S. P. Cerasano and Steven W. May.

⁵⁴ SP 14/115/21, Woodward to Windebank, 12 May 1620; SP 14/116/1, Woodward to Windebank, [1 July?] 1620.

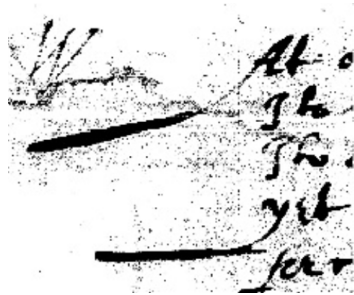
⁵⁵ There are 22 surviving letters from Woodward to Windebank, the majority 'written at intervals during the years 1627-31, stopping just before Donne's death.' Deas, p. 456. For the poem see SP 16/171/23.

⁵⁶ Woodward's request to Buckingham for a pension in 1625 survives at SP 16/8/87. Deas, p. 455.

⁵⁷ NY3 was owned by Gosse from 1892, and sold at Sotheby's, 30 July 1928, to the New York Public Library for £400. I am grateful to the curators of the Berg Collection at the New York Public Library for answering my questions about this manuscript and permitting me to inspect it. A digital facsimile can be viewed at *DigitalDonne*, <http://digitaldonne.tamu.edu/NY3-biblio.html> (Texas A&M, 2011), accessed 12 June 2011. See also *Index*, 1.1.252 and *The Times*, 31 July 1928, p. 11.

Although the editors of the *Variorum* generally accept NY3 as the best copy-text for Donne's *Elegies*, a collation of the B11 verse letter texts with those in NY3 suggests at least an equal standing between the two manuscripts. Milgate proposed that the folio in B11 constituted the remains of a 'duplicate' of NY3, or an attempt at one.⁵⁸ By analysing the textual variants, however, Stringer *et al.* have shown that B11 was not copied from NY3 – each was copied from the same lost original.⁵⁹

The scribe of B11 has not yet been identified, and his predominantly italic hand does not appear in any other Conway Papers, but the script is nevertheless distinctive.⁶⁰ The most obvious scribal identification mark is the use of horizontal lines of up to 20mm in length, which extend into the left margin from some initial letters.



Another noticeable feature is the short stroke made down to the top of the letter *S*, to the point at which a writer would usually begin the letter.



Majuscule *I* is crossed through in two instances (lines 7 and 76 of the manuscript), but is predominantly uncrossed (9, 16, 26, 29, 30, 31, 35, 37, 38, 58). Secretary *e* is used

⁵⁸ Milgate, *Satires*, p. lxxv.

⁵⁹ *Variorum*, 7.1.xcvi, footnote 30 lists some textual variants.

⁶⁰ For an analysis of Woodward's *k*, see *Paradoxes and Problems*, ed. Helen Peters (Oxford, 1980), p. lvii; P. J. Croft, *Autograph Poetry in the English Language*, 2 vols. (1973), 1.26; and Nicolas Barker, "'Goodfriday 1613": By Whose Hand?', *TLS*, 20 September 1974, pp. 996-7. My thanks to Henry Woudhuysen for these references.

throughout the document, though most other letters, notably *c*, are italic. The writer uses three separate forms of minuscule *b*: one straight-backed, one with a hooked ascender, and one with a full loop; the hooked version is probably an incomplete version of this loop.



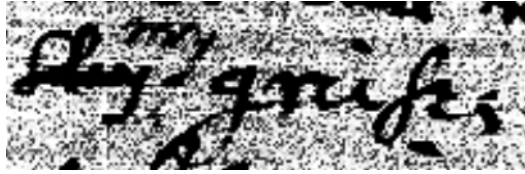
He appears to regularise towards the full loop as he writes, as this becomes more prevalent.⁶¹ A similar progression of a letter can be detected in the ascender of *d*, which adopts an increasingly clubbed appearance.⁶² It is notable that the clubbed ascenders are all on the verso of the folio, suggesting they were developed as the writer settled into his work. Close examination reveals that the final poem (*CB*) may be written in a different hand from the rest of the document: majuscule *D* in the penultimate line does not match earlier examples, letter forms in the last poem are slightly thinner, as if made using a different or a recently sharpened pen, and the underlining beneath the stanza lacks the ‘bowed’ effect used in the other long horizontal lines, for example here:



Since these are minor variations, however, the scribe is most likely to be the same throughout. Another hand is present, nevertheless, in a correction by interlineation to the penultimate poem, ‘my/’:

⁶¹ The *bs* of ‘be’ (lines 6, 27, 34), ‘both’ (16), ‘body’ (22, 56), ‘best’ (28), ‘bare’ (40), ‘bee’ (41) and ‘bestow’ (42) all feature an ascender with a hook; ‘be’ (7), ‘borne’ (7), ‘Embassadar’ (33), ‘by’ (56, 57, 69), ‘bearing’ (58), ‘but’ (59, 81), ‘being’ (63), ‘bodyes’ (65), ‘behind’ (71, 76), ‘both’ (71), ‘blott’ (73), ‘besides’ (76), all have looped ascenders.

⁶² The ascender is given a bold emphasis in later instances: ‘led’ (56), ‘and’ (65, 71), ‘defects’ (68), ‘behind’ (71, 76), ‘persued’ (75) and ‘minde’ (79).



The marginal titles of each poem also appear to be in a different script. Despite these small internal differences, the point remains that this manuscript preserves the same poems in the same order as NY3. However, B11's witness to these verse epistles is not only written in a different hand or hands from NY3, it is found in a significantly different bibliographical context. Whereas NY3 is a carefully compiled book devoted almost exclusively to Donne's works, the B11 document is a manuscript separate, a loose sheet that does not apparently relate to other surviving poetical manuscripts in the Conway Papers. Interestingly, the manuscript features the number '2': this appears on the top of the verso as the folio is currently bound. The number potentially implies that the manuscript was once gathered with other leaves, and that the current verso was once a recto, the second in a series – but this would make the 'introductory' poem, *ED*, the fourth in the sequence, and would disrupt the order in which we know the poems appear in NY3. Furthermore, the manuscript does not bear evidence of having been bound into a larger collection. More likely '2' simply means page two, page one being the current recto, beginning with *ED* and left unnumbered by the scribe.

The Westmoreland Manuscript

NY3 was compiled for and owned by Francis Fane (1583/4-1629), first Earl of Westmoreland, another Lincoln's Inn alumnus (admitted in 1597), for whom Woodward later acted as secretary.⁶³ If Woodward's text is considered one of the most reliable sources for Donne's poetry, and one of the closest to the original authorial manuscripts, this folio from B11 must be afforded a similar level of authority. In short, Conway acquired his copy of Donne's verse letters from a source that was very close indeed to the author, and one that

⁶³ Several documents link Woodward and Westmoreland, who, for example, sent a coach for Woodward and his wife to go into Northamptonshire in 1630 (SP 16/171/56). As Deas (p. 457) notes, 'in the church in Apethorp, the Earl's seat, is an alabaster monument to "Rowlandus Woodward Armiger," erected by Eleanor, his wife, with an epitaph composed by himself'. The inscription and epitaph are given in full in John Bridges and Peter Whalley (eds.), *The History and Antiquities of Northamptonshire*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1790), 2.428.

had access to early circulated copies of Donne's poetry – possibly even authorial originals. This conclusion has implications for important editorial decisions, because the correlation between B11 and NY3 may confirm that these poems form an original authorial sequence. Marotti is cautious about NY3's testament to Donne's ordering of his poems, observing that

we are dealing with a stage of circulation at least one step removed from the poems' original circumstances. Even in the case of the Westmoreland Manuscript ... there is little indication about original groupings of poems, since Woodward was arranging poems and prose in the collection by genre and, like some other copyists, transcribing texts that were scattered among loose sheets and sets of poems[.]⁶⁴

However, Marotti's observation does not preclude the existence of original sequences among these loose sheets. *ED*'s canonical subtitle implies it was written to introduce six holy sonnets, but with its talk of 'lusty rhyme' (3) and generally secular tone, it would make rather an inappropriate mediator for Donne's religious verse. The *Variorum* editors have declared that 'the subtitle "with six holy sonnets" is the spurious addition of a later copyist'.⁶⁵ Nevertheless, *ED* claims that Donne is sending six poems ('the seventh hath still some maim', 8), so it remains to ask which verses it accompanied. The existence and similarity of B11 and NY3 constitute important evidence that *ED* was written to introduce these five verse epistles, which correspond both in tone and to the social background of their probable addressees.

The most likely scenario is that Donne sent Stanley a set of poems addressed to their mutual friends from Lincoln's Inn, either soon after their composition, or as a later, nostalgic gesture designed to recall their student days. Perhaps he made additional copies of the sequence to send to Brooke and the Woodwards, in the same spirit of conviviality, or Stanley's copy of the sequence was circulated onwards. Given the number of Donne poems evidently owned by Rowland Woodward when he compiled NY3, a direct route of transmission from the poet to his friend is likely, and given the textual similarities, NY3 and B11 appear to have been made contemporaneously to one another, from the same lost source.

⁶⁴ Marotti, *Coterie*, p. 15. Marotti is not referring directly to B11 here, but his comments are pertinent.

⁶⁵ *Variorum*, 7.1.xcvi.

The Inns of Court, the taverns of Parliament

The original circulation of the verse epistles is rooted in the intellectual culture of the Inns of Court. According to Bald, the Inns were not just places of learning, but a locus for a ‘coterie of ingenious young men assiduously cultivating the Muse and warmly applauding each other’s efforts’.⁶⁶ As a place of verse transaction, it has been explored in depth by Marotti, who illustrates his description with a quotation from George Gascoigne, an Inns member a generation before Donne. In *A Hundreth Sundrie Flowres*, Gascoigne mentions an apparent induction into a club or fraternity at Gray’s Inn:

being required by five sundrie gentlemen to wrighte in verse somewhat worthy to be remembred, before he entred into their fellowship, he compiled these five sundry sortes of metre uppon five sundry theames which they delivered unto him [...]⁶⁷

The surviving evidence suggests that Donne and his friends embraced these poetical traditions, and continued the habit of literary circulation after they left the Inns of Court. Donne’s friend Christopher Brooke is a case in point, a man whose Lincoln’s Inn attendance led to a career in Parliament and active participation in the literary life of London. Studying Brooke’s role in the Conway Papers suggests not only the circumstances in which literature was circulated in the early seventeenth century, but also potential routes that Donne’s manuscripts may have taken to arrive into the collection.

Christopher Brooke and tavern culture

Donne entered Lincoln’s Inn in May 1592. One of the other young men in his intake was John Brooke, a cousin of Christopher Brooke (c.1570–1628), an older member of the Inn who witnessed Donne’s illicit marriage and became his lifelong friend. The two shared chambers at the Inn, and later lived opposite each other in Drury Lane.⁶⁸ Both Christopher and his younger brother Samuel composed poetry, and the elder Brooke was well known for his literary endeavours at the Inn. For example, he was in charge of budgeting for George Chapman’s *Memorable Maske* (1613), a joint Lincoln’s Inn–Middle Temple

⁶⁶ *Life*, p. 74.

⁶⁷ Cited in Marotti, *Coterie*, p. 9.

⁶⁸ Brooke ‘entered Lincoln’s Inn on 15 March 1587, was called to the bar on 9 June 1594, and formally called to the bench on 11 June 1611’, Michelle O’Callaghan, ‘Christopher Brooke’, *ODNB*.

production celebrating the marriage of Princess Elizabeth, and he organised his Inn's Barriers entertainment for Charles's creation as Prince of Wales in 1616. As such, he was an ideal companion for Donne, who was remembered by one chronicler as 'a great visitor of Ladies, a great frequenter of Playes, a great writer of conceited Verses'.⁶⁹ Brooke was the recipient of 'The Storme' and 'The Calme' and, by extension, probably the *Satires*: Drummond noted that his copy of *Sat2* was 'After C. B. Coppy'.⁷⁰ Furthermore, Brooke is linked directly to several manuscripts in the Conway Papers besides the verse letters. 'An Epithalamicall good morowe to Mr: Christopher Brooke:/' (B11, fol. 35r) was written to celebrate his marriage to Mary, Lady Jacob, in December 1619; Brooke was one of the principal wits behind the composition and circulation of the verse libel 'The Parliament Fart' (B11, fols. 15r-18v); and a caustic prose letter by Brooke is also preserved in the archive at SP 14/130/175. Each of these manuscripts supplies evidence about the Conways' connections to London literary society and, by extension, to Donne.

The 'Epithalamicall good morowe' is an affectionate and playful poem, referring directly to Lady Jacob (line 13) and punning on the bridegroom's name ('the clere brookes', 14). It is accompanied by anagrams of Christopher Brooke ('Richer for bookes') and 'Marie Brooke' (the less convincing 'a merrie booke'), and an accompanying ditty, that presents Lady Jacob as a particularly fine volume for Brooke's library. This rather awkward conceit identifies the poem as an exchange between two bookish people. The author's more platitudinous compliments are mixed with a knowing joke about Jacob's estate that suggests the writer and recipient were friends:

A mistris, a Companion, and a nurse,
no way defectiue in person, *or in purse*:
but aboue all the beauties of the minde ...
(19-21. My emphasis)⁷¹

Gabriel Heaton has identified the author and scribe of the 'Epithalamicall good morowe' as

⁶⁹ Richard Baker, *A Chronicle of the Kings of England*, 4 vols. (1643), 2.156.

⁷⁰ Grierson, 2.111.

⁷¹ Cf. Antonio's similar pun in *The Merchant of Venice*, 1.1.138-9: 'My purse, my person, my extremest means, / Lie all unlock'd to your occasions.' In *The Riverside Shakespeare*, eds. G. Blakemore Evans *et al.*, 2nd edn. (Boston, MA, and New York, 1997).

Richard Connock, a Middle Temple barrister, an MP in the 1593 and 1614 parliaments, and auditor to Prince Henry from 1610, approximately at the time that Conway was ingratiating himself into Henry's court.⁷² Connock's hand is also found in a verse epistle to Ben Jonson dated 9 July 1610, sent as a letter packet 'To the right Honorable my Lord North',⁷³ (Dudley North (c.1582-1666), third Baron North, a volunteer at the siege of Berck in the Low Countries in 1601 and a leading courtier to Prince Henry).

Connock and Brooke's names are closely associated with a group of lawyers, MPs and gentlemen – several were also amateur writers and wits – who congregated in the taverns of London in the early seventeenth century. The so-called 'Convivium Philosophicum' met at the Mitre Tavern in Fleet Street around 1611, while the 'Syrenaical Gentlemen', also known as the 'Mermaid Club', patronised the Mermaid Tavern in Cheapside (off Bread Street), probably in 1612. These groups, whose precise memberships, individual identities and inter-relations have been delineated by I. A. Shapiro, David Riggs, Pascal Brioiist, Michelle O'Callaghan, Annabel Patterson and Mark Bland, appear to have encompassed many, and perhaps all, of the following men:⁷⁴

Convivium Philosophicum

Christopher Brooke, Richard Connock, Thomas Coryate, Lionel Cranfield, John Donne, Sir Henry Goodere, Hugh Holland, John Hoskins, Arthur Ingram, Inigo Jones, Richard Martin, Sir Henry Neville, Sir Robert Phelips, John West.

Sirenaical Gentlemen

Laurence Whitaker (Edward Phelips's secretary),⁷⁵ and some or all of the following: Robert Bing, John Bond, Christopher Brooke, Sir Robert Cotton, John Donne,

⁷² Gabriel Heaton, 'Performing Gifts', unpublished PhD diss., pp. 117-18. Heaton is more cautious about the attribution in *Reading and Writing Royal Entertainments*, p. 190.

⁷³ BL, Add. MS 27,407, fols. 8r-9v. The paper features a watermark of a double pennant flag with the initials 'G3'.

⁷⁴ I. A. Shapiro, 'The "Mermaid Club"', *MLR*, 45 (1950), pp. 6-17, *passim*, especially pp. 6-17; David Riggs, *Ben Jonson* (1989), p. 192; Michelle O'Callaghan, *The English Wits* (Cambridge, 2007), pp. 82-4; O'Callaghan, 'Tavern Societies, the Inns of Court, and the Culture of Conviviality in Early Seventeenth-Century London', in Adam Smyth (ed.), *A Pleasing Sinne* (Cambridge, 2004), pp. 37-51; O'Callaghan, '"Talking Politics": Tyranny, Parliament, and Christopher Brooke's the *Ghost of Richard the Third* (1614)', *Historical Journal*, 41 (1998), pp. 97-120; Pascal Brioiist, 'Que de choses avons nous vues et vecues a la Sirene', *Histoire et Civilisation* (Florence, 1992), *passim*. See also Michael Strachan, 'The Mermaid Club: A New Discovery', *HT*, 17 (1967), pp. 533-8, at p. 538. Cf. Strachan's *The Life and Adventures of Thomas Coryate* (1962), pp. 138-48.

⁷⁵ Edward Phelips, Master of the Rolls, furnished Donne with his seat as MP for Taunton in 1613. Bald, *Donne and the Drurys*, p. 130.

George Gerrard, William Hakewill, Hugh Holland, John Hoskins, Inigo Jones, Ben Jonson, Richard Martin, Dr Mocket, Samuel Purchas, George Speake, William Stansby, John Davies of Hereford.⁷⁶

Occasional members

Francis Beaumont, Walter Raleigh.⁷⁷

The potential overlaps between the two groups are suggestive. Of the fourteen possible Sirenaics, seven were expected at the ‘convivium’ at the Mitre in September 1611, leading Shapiro to propose a central core of friends around whom this social circle orbited; O’Callaghan concurs, calling the two groups ‘fluid and overlapping circles’.⁷⁸ Even if the two groups were not explicitly related, the crossovers indicate a culture of intellectual conviviality among those mentioned. Several strands of connectivity can be discerned among the members: Richard Martin, Christopher Brooke, John Hoskins and Hugh Holland were particularly close friends, and all had been active in the Parliaments of 1604-10, serving together on numerous committees. A strong legal flavour characterises the groups, particularly the Sirenaics: eight men derived either from Lincoln’s Inn (Brooke and Donne) or from the Middle Temple (Martin, Hoskins, Sir Robert Phelips, Connock, Goodere and West), two Inns with close social ties. Furthermore, Shapiro notes the literary endeavours of several men during their time studying law, which corroborate the evidence already set out in this chapter.⁷⁹

Drinking parlours were used as meeting-places for intellectual debate and written productions, in a similar fashion to eighteenth-century coffee houses, and it is in this

⁷⁶ In addition to Shapiro’s article, some of these members have been proposed by Baird Whitlock, *John Hoskyns* (Washington, DC, 1982), pp. 388-91, and Bald, *Life*, p. 192. O’Callaghan lists Thomas rather than John Bond in ‘Talking Politics’, p. 102. Coryate’s letters to England from Ajmere, upon which much of the above information is based, also request that his regards be sent to George Speake at the Middle Temple, John Williams ‘the Kings Gold’, Robert Bing, William Stansby (the printer of Coryate’s *Crudities*) and the stationers in Paul’s Churchyard, though no modern critic has suggested that these people were involved in either the Mitre or the Mermaid fraternities.

⁷⁷ The case for Beaumont and Raleigh is made by Mark Bland, ‘Francis Beaumont’s Verse Letters to Ben Jonson and “The Mermaid Club”’, *EMS*, 12 (2005), pp. 139-79.

⁷⁸ O’Callaghan, ‘Talking Politics’, p. 99.

⁷⁹ Shapiro, ‘Mermaid Club’, pp. 13-14. For more on Hoskins as a poet, particularly his use of the manuscript medium, see David Colclough, “‘The Muses Recreation’: John Hoskyns and the Manuscript Culture of the Seventeenth Century”, *HLQ*, 61 (1998), pp. 369-400.

context that we can locate another of Brooke's Conway Papers works.⁸⁰ One item Shapiro did not discuss in his article is 'The Parliament Fart', a work that emerged directly from tavern culture. This humorous libel was inspired by an unexpected interruption in the House of Commons on 4 March 1607. Robert Bowyer, clerk to the House of Lords, noted that after a speech from Sir John Croke about the naturalisation of Scots,

one at the nether end of the House *sonitum ventre emisit*; whereat the Company laughing the Mesenger was almost out of Countenance. It is said to have bene young Ludloe; not that this seemeth done in disgrace, for his Father Sir Edward Ludloe before a Committee fell on sleepe and *sonitum ventre emisit*: So this seemeth Infirmitie Naturall, not Malice.⁸¹

The libel inspired by the emission became one of the most popular of the period.⁸² As Marotti explains, the 'Fart'

was originally a coterie game played for the benefit of a group of rumbunctious Commons members which included [John Hoskins,] Richard Martin, Christopher Brooke and Henry Goodyer, Edward Phelips, Arthur Ingram, Robert Cotton, Henry Neville, Toby Matthew, John Egerton and others, most of whom, incidentally, were friends and associates of John Donne.⁸³

Joshua Eckhardt adds Edward Jones to the list, and notes that 'in its earliest contexts, the libel enacted a gesture of defiance towards the Lords and possibly even the crown on behalf of the Commons'.⁸⁴ The libel's origin was clearly political, born from a parliamentary event and humorously antagonistic in content, but its circulation sprang from the wit-culture of London's taverns. 'The Parliament Fart' is essentially a series of epigrams that can be broken up, re-assembled, added to or subtracted from. Raylor calls it 'an uneven

⁸⁰ See also Peter Clark, *The English Alehouse* (1983), *passim*, and Markman Ellis, *The Coffee House* (2004), *passim*.

⁸¹ Quoted in O'Callaghan, *English Wits*, p. 82.

⁸² James L. Sanderson notes 27 surviving editions of the poem in 'An Edition of an Early Seventeenth-Century Manuscript Collection of Poems (Rosenbach MS. 186 [1083/15])', unpublished PhD. diss. (University of Pennsylvania, 1960). All known surviving sources are listed at *Early Stuart Libels*, www.earlystuartlibels.net/htdocs/parliament_fart_section/C1i.html, which uses Bod. MS Malone 23 as its copy-text.

⁸³ Marotti, *Manuscript, Print, and the English Renaissance Lyric* (Ithaca, NY, 1995), p. 113.

⁸⁴ Joshua Eckhardt, *Manuscript Verse Collectors and the Politics of Anti-Courtly Love Poetry* (Oxford, 2009), p. 11.

production' with 'little consistency of tone or wit'.⁸⁵ Its very structure testifies to its means of publication as a group endeavour, and it was circulated in an unfixed state that invited further witty intervention. Couplets have been identified mentioning 112 members of James's first parliament, and several early manuscripts feature blank leaves so that the new owner could add his own inventions or interpolate alternative readings from other witnesses.

Brooke's involvement in the circulation of 'The Parliament Fart' prompts a re-examination of the purpose behind the Sirenaics' writing. Pascal Brioist has described them as a coterie of political writers who met on Fridays when parliament was in session, rehearsing speeches they were due to deliver. But as well as defining their arguments in official political speeches, having discussed the issues among themselves, they encoded their positions in literary works, like Brooke's poems about Virginia, or Donne's *Satires* and paradoxes. As O'Callaghan notes, Brooke was a key figure in the publication – the making publicly available – of parliamentary proceedings; his poem *The Ghost of Richard the Third* (1614) 'exemplifies parliamentary debates entering the wider public realm of print'.⁸⁶ Significantly, this 'culture of collaboration and conviviality', with its basis in the Inns of Court, went hand-in-hand with political allegiance and collaboration in parliament itself. As O'Callaghan notes,

These individuals frequently appeared on the same committees, supported each other's speeches, and took similar stances on issues such as the Union of the Kingdoms, impositions [a tax on imported goods], parliamentary privileges, and the extent of the royal prerogative.⁸⁷

From 1604 to 1614 Brooke, Martin, Hakewill and Hoskins lobbied against impositions, while Robert Phelips, Martin and Hoskins supported each other's arguments in the parliaments of 1610 and 1614, showing particular solidarity over the issue of the royal prerogative.⁸⁸ The group's apparent purposes, political debate and witty creativity, were porous in both directions: not only did politics enter their literary writing, caustic wit

⁸⁵ Raylor, *Cavaliers, Clubs*, p. 74.

⁸⁶ O'Callaghan, 'Talking Politics', pp. 97-120.

⁸⁷ O'Callaghan, 'Tavern Societies', p. 50.

⁸⁸ O'Callaghan, 'Talking Politics', p. 104.

seeped into their parliamentary activity. Hoskins was imprisoned by James at the dissolution of the 1614 parliament for having compared the King and his advisers to the defeated Charles of Anjou, and in the same year Martin was admonished for his over-zealous comments about the Virginia Company (a stance which had been supported by Hoskins and Brooke).⁸⁹ There is no positive evidence to prove that these authors knew the elder Edward Conway, but he was an MP in these years, and his name appears on numerous parliamentary committees alongside Donne's friends. Conway was permanently stationed abroad, and could have appointed a proxy to appear at those committees on his behalf – yet the cross-over is intriguing, especially considering his physical proximity to Salisbury around 1610, which suggests he was spending time at parliament. He could, therefore, potentially have been a satellite member of the literary tavern groups attended by Donne and his friends.

Until more evidence is found, a more convincing approach to his connection with Donne's milieu might be through their shared patronage interests. In particular, the number of men in Donne's circle associated with the court of Prince Henry at this time is probably significant. Conway certainly interacted with members of Henry's court in 1611-12, as he attempted to secure for the Prince the services of a Dutch painter, Michiel van Miereveld.⁹⁰ In 1611 Conway described to Adam Newton, Henry's secretary, the Prince's admiration of Count Maurice of Nassau, evident to 'those that hade the honor to be some times abowte the Prince', an implicit comment on Conway's own, at least occasional, proximity to the court.⁹¹ Donne's friend Laurence Whitaker was secretary to Sir Edward Phelips, Henry's chancellor from 1611. Connock, Sir Robert Phelips and Inigo Jones were all in Henry's service, and Jones was Ben Jonson's principal collaborator in court entertainments. Jones was responsible for the set designs of *Hymenaei* (1606), the *Masque of Queenes* (1609), plays performed at a visit of the court to Oxford (1605), and entertainments given by Robert Cecil at Theobalds (1606 and 1607) and Salisbury House (1608). He also prepared the design for Jonson's *Entertainment at Britain's Burse* in 1608 (though Simon Basil ultimately took over that project).⁹² Jonson's *Oberon the Fairy Prince* (1611) was Prince

⁸⁹ O'Callaghan, 'Tavern Societies', pp. 51, 49. Hoskins might have known better, having been expelled from Oxford in 1592 for a bitterly satirical attack on senior members of his college. Cf. Colclough, "'The Muses Recreation'", p. 373-4.

Henry's debut as chief masquer, and he was presented with an autograph copy of the *Masque of Queenes* (BL, Royal MS 18 A. XLV).

Ben Jonson

Jonson himself plays a prominent supporting role in this narrative. Donne had written commendatory lines in Latin for Jonson in 1607, and Jonson returned the favour, praising his friend in verse. In the introductory poem to his (now lost) *Ars Poetica*, an important character called Criticus was based on Donne,⁹³ and Jonson also wrote an epigram to Donne in 1616:

All which I meant to praise, and, yet, I would;
But leave, because I cannot as I should!⁹⁴

Although there is little or no evidence to tie Jonson directly to Conway (such as a letter from one man to the other, or a recorded meeting), he did write the entertainment for Henry's investiture as Prince of Wales, the July 1610 event at which both Conway and Horace Vere fought at Barriers. Conway owned an autograph copy of Jonson's poem to Vere (B11, fol. 87r; composed ?1607-19), the only surviving manuscript copy of it,⁹⁵ plus manuscript copies of the *Theobalds* (performed 1606 and 1607) and *Britain's Burse* (performed 1609) entertainments, and extracts from the *Masque of Gipsies Metamorphosed*, a later work which dates from 1621, but is nevertheless representative of his interests. Equally pertinent is Conway's ownership (possibly of more than one copy) of *Sejanus* by 1610, according to his library catalogue. This was probably the 1605 quarto; *Sejanus* was a stage failure, and when Jonson came to rewrite it for publication he made a virtue of this fact, claiming that only an elite readership would understand it. Thomas O.

⁹⁰ See Chapter 2, pp. 55-7.

⁹¹ Conway to Newton, 2 June 1611, BL, Harl. MS 7002, fols. 106-7. See also Jan van Dorsten, 'Garter Knights and Familists', *Journal of European Studies*, 4 (1974), pp. 178-88.

⁹² Roy Strong, *Henry, Prince of Wales and England's Lost Renaissance* (1986), p. 111.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, p. 195-6.

⁹⁴ Lines 9-10. Herford and Simpson, 8.34.

⁹⁵ The editors of the forthcoming Cambridge *Works of Ben Jonson* will argue that Jonson's autograph presentation manuscripts tended to be given directly to the addressee – in this case Vere. This manuscript was therefore probably given by Jonson to Vere, and was passed from the Vere family to his brother-in-law Conway. My thanks to Colin Burrow for allowing me to consult his work in draft. The poem is printed in Herford and Simpson, 8.58.

Calhoun and Thomas L. Gravell have argued that Jonson may have had *Sejanus* printed on English paper with royal watermarks specifically in order to associate it with the king's authority.⁹⁶ As such, if it were indeed a gift from the author, a presentation copy would both flatter Conway's intellect and implicitly align the political allegiance of patron and client.

Surviving manuscript copies of Jonson's masques and court entertainment are relatively numerous, a fact that 'reflects the value which Court circles, and Jonson himself, evidently attached to these productions'.⁹⁷ Specifically, Jonson's entertainments make up a significant portion of the poetry and drama in the Conway Papers. Gabriel Heaton has argued that Conway's acquisition of court entertainments constitutes a conscious collection.⁹⁸ Without wishing to replicate his arguments here, I shall make a few observations that connect these texts to the wider pattern of Conway's collecting habits. Writing about *The Entertainment at Britain's Burse*, James Knowles observes several idiosyncrasies in the manuscript – a deterioration in presentation, the presence of several hands, a lack of stage directions, uneven line-spacing and other signs of carelessness – factors which suggest 'that the text which survives here is unlikely to be a presentation copy, but an ad hoc version provided for an interested outsider'.⁹⁹ Knowles claims that the most likely source for this manuscript is 'an unknown newsletter writer or other correspondent providing details of an important event'. As such, the manuscript may represent not a work collected for its literary value, but 'political intelligence', the kind of social or cultural knowledge that might prove of use to 'a soldier on the margins of government and in search of promotion'.¹⁰⁰ As such, it has a corollary in 'The Running Masque' (B11, fols. 3r-8r), which dates from July 1619 to July 1620 or from December

⁹⁶ Thomas O. Calhoun and Thomas L. Gravell, 'Paper and Printing in Ben Jonson's *Sejanus* (1605)', *PBSA*, 87 (1993), pp. 13-64.

⁹⁷ *Index*, 1.2.235.

⁹⁸ Gabriel Heaton, 'Entertaining Edward Conway', paper delivered at London Renaissance Seminar, 'The Conways of Ragley: Courtiers and Collectors, 1564-1655', 5 December 2009, Birkbeck College, University of London. Cf. *Writing and Reading Royal Entertainments*, pp. 111-12, 185, 194.

⁹⁹ James Knowles, 'Cecil's shopping centre', *TLS* (7 February 1997), pp. 14-15.

¹⁰⁰ James Knowles, 'Jonson's *Entertainment at Britain's Burse*', in Martin Butler (ed.), *Re-Presenting Ben Jonson* (Basingstoke and London, 1999), pp. 114-51, at p. 123. Knowles downplays Conway's connection to Cecil in this period, stating that Conway's 'main patron was Sir Horace Vere' (p. 122); in fact, evidence presented in *HPT* and Chapter 1 (pp. 23-4), allows that Conway collected this manuscript precisely because of his patronage interest in Cecil.

1620 to July 1621.¹⁰¹ This manuscript text ends with a list of the noblemen who performed it, virtually all of whom were men of influence at Court: the marquesses Buckingham and Hamilton, the earls of Oxford and Montgomery, Viscount Purbeck, Lord Hunsdon, Sir Henry Rich, Sir William Uvedale, Sir Thomas Badger, Sir George Goring and three others. It may be significant that Conway's copy of Jonson's *Masque of Gipsies* is the only surviving manuscript copy to assign actors' names – Buckingham's chief among them.

Conway owned numerous literary items that relate to Buckingham, his chief patron from about 1616, including at least six poems and a discourse about anti-Buckingham libels.¹⁰² (On Conway's collection of Buckingham material, see Chapter 3, pp. 122-3.) After Buckingham's death Conway patronised men like Abraham Darcy who wrote elegies in the dead Duke's favour.¹⁰³ Most of these items would have been collected in the mid-1620s, however, when Conway was Secretary of State and Buckingham's chief confidant. The writing of the 'Running Masque' in 1619-21, the *Masque of Gipsies* in 1621 and Thomas Middleton's *Barkham Entertainment* (1622) clearly predate Conway's promotion, and *Theobalds* (1607) and *Britain's Burse* (1609) derive from even earlier. Conway's copy of Sir John Davies's *Device to Entertain Her Majesty at Harefield House*, now in the Folger, dates earlier still, to 1602.¹⁰⁴ It seems likely therefore that Conway and Jonson's interests overlapped in the first decade of the seventeenth century, and that the crucible of their interaction was the court of Prince Henry, as Knowles speculates:

Given shared interests in learning, military tactics and religious affairs, Conway may have targeted Prince Henry as a possible patron. If this is the case it is possible that Jonson, also manoeuvring towards Prince Henry at this time (although for very different reasons), may have sought to cultivate Conway as another avenue to the Prince and his circle.¹⁰⁵

Conway was certainly trying to cultivate Henry as a patron by 1611. Whether he would have been a useful conduit for Jonson is another matter, since Conway's own clientage was

¹⁰¹ See James Knowles, 'The "Running Masque" Recovered: A Masque for the Marquess of Buckingham (c.1619-20)', *EMS*, 8 (2000), pp. 79-135.

¹⁰² SP 14/180/17.2, SP 14/153/114, SP 16/114/68, SP 16/114/70 (two poems), SP 16/523/56.

¹⁰³ SP 16/114/72.

¹⁰⁴ Folger, MS X.d.172.

¹⁰⁵ Knowles, 'Britain's Burse', p. 125.

only partially successful, but it is quite possible that Jonson saw things differently. Knowles notes that many former supporters of the Earl of Essex numbered among Jonson's friends in the early 1600s, as did men who had served in the Netherlands. He argues that

the appearance of Jonson's *Entertainment [at Britain's Bourse]* among Conway's papers, even if sent by an intermediary outside Jonson's circle, may belong to Jonson's delicate cultivation of the ex-Essexians. If this is so, then the copying of this text belongs to the complex mechanisms of favour commonplace in the Jacobean court, with the sender ... cementing relations with Conway who in turn sought information to further his own pursuit of patronage.¹⁰⁶

Conway's collection of court entertainments dating from the first decade of the seventeenth century is significant. Recovered from the damaged context of the Conway Papers and resituated, albeit speculatively, into a cohesive group, they evince a collector at the heart of several scribal networks, who either sought out or was sent new and relevant literature by a number of well-connected scribes. This is the bibliographical context in which Donne's verse letters are found: a varied but purposeful collection of literary texts that both established a primary link between a patron and a scribe and equipped the patron, Conway, in his own search for preferment.

Years of change: 1610-14

Conway's attempts to ingratiate himself into the court of Prince Henry necessitated cultural cultivation, as well as theological devotion and political expediency, in order to negotiate the 'complex mechanisms' (in Knowles's words) of the Jacobean patronage system. However, the early 1610s were to prove a particularly turbulent time for aspirant clients, and the political turbulence was to climax around 1613, after Salisbury's death. I have situated manuscripts from Conway's collection in the context of parliamentary men and aspirant courtiers to show his engagement as a collector with a contemporary literary-political movement around this time. The episode also illustrates examples of literary texts escaping from their locus of origin and seeping into the sphere of manuscript publication. Conway as a reader is at least one step away from the tavern groups described above. Nevertheless, he acquired texts that derived both directly and almost directly from this

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., p. 125.

group of men. I will argue, furthermore, that the years 1610 to 1613 are particularly significant because of the major changes to the political landscape that they saw. In order properly to evaluate Conway's manuscript collection as it pertains to this seismic period in English court history, one must turn to the manuscripts of Sir Henry Goodere.

III Sir Henry Goodere

Unlike the earlier parts of this chapter, divided by genre, this last section examines a group of Conway Papers poems in the hand of a single scribe, Sir Henry Goodere.¹⁰⁷ As Gosse observes, it is to Goodere that 'we owe, more than to any other person, our knowledge of the middle years of Donne's life'.¹⁰⁸ Yet despite his importance to Donne studies, there has so far been no systematic study published addressing his collection and circulation of literature in manuscript. Goodere and Donne corresponded intimately, and tried, largely successfully, to maintain a weekly correspondence from as early as 1600. Goodere was one of the earliest readers of Donne's work; an examination of his poetical transcripts can therefore illuminate the early dissemination of Donne's verse. Because these manuscripts can be associated directly with the relatively well-documented life of a known scribe, this group of texts offers the opportunity to chart the entry of Donne's poems into early seventeenth-century scribal culture.

Gosse, following Jessopp, claims Goodere was baptised on 21 August 1571, making him Donne's elder by about one year, although we do not know when they first met. Goodere matriculated from St. John's, Cambridge, in 1587 and entered the Middle Temple in 1589. In 1593 he married Frances, daughter of another Sir Henry Goodere (1534-95) of Polesworth, Warwickshire – Donne's friend's uncle – who plays an important if indirect role in the story of the Conway Papers. The elder Sir Henry had been knighted by the Earl

¹⁰⁷ After completing this chapter I was granted access to an unpublished article by Dennis Flynn, M. Thomas Hester and Margaret Maurer called 'Goodere at Court, 1603-1610: the Early Jacobean Decline of a Catholic Sympathizer and its Implications for Our Understanding of Donne's Mitcham Letters'. All specific debts to this article are credited below; principally, it reinforced my understanding of Goodere's activities in the early years of James's rule, and I am grateful to the authors for sharing it with me.

¹⁰⁸ Edmund Gosse, *The Life and Letters of John Donne, Dean of St. Paul's*, 2 vols. (1899), 2.249.

of Leicester in 1586 at Zutphen, having fought alongside Sir Philip Sidney; he witnessed Sidney's will and was one of six assistant mourners at his funeral.¹⁰⁹ Sidney left the elder Goodere – 'my good cousin and Friend' – a ring in his will, and asked him to convey a jewel to Queen Elizabeth.¹¹⁰ Sidney's mother presented him with a copy of Boccaccio's *La Fiammetta* (1532), which bears a six-line manuscript poem on the inside upper cover by Sir Geoffrey Fenton, Sir John Conway's friend (see Appendix 8).¹¹¹ The elder Goodere also knew Sir Fulke Greville, Sidney's friend, arbitrating with him in a 1571 legal dispute.¹¹² However, he ruined his fortunes with a series of political miscalculations, welcoming Mary, Queen of Scots into England, assisting Lord North's attempts to negotiate a marriage with her and, later, devising a cipher for Mary.¹¹³

Imprisoned by Elizabeth, he wrote a poem – 'If former good coulde awnswer present yll' – as part of his plea for clemency.¹¹⁴ The fact that he was a poet, like Greville and the Sidneys, is of course highly significant; equally pertinent is that, like Sir John Conway, he used his literary skills to placate Elizabeth while imprisoned on a charge of treason. As such, both men entered into a tradition of Elizabethan soldier-scholars for whom poetry and statesmanship were closely related. A poem on the elder Sir Henry's death in 1595 survives in the Conway Papers at B11, fol. 90r-v.¹¹⁵ It was composed by his brother, Sir William Goodere, father of Donne's friend, and indicates that the connections between the two families were both inter-generational and more involved than has previously been recognised. The elder Sir Henry had been involved in the arbitration of the

¹⁰⁹ Billeting lists compiled by the elder Sir Henry Goodere can be found at BL, Cotton MS Galba C VIII, fols. 96v-97r and 98r-102r. Similar documents useful for comparison are at Bod., MS Rawl. B. 146, fol. 235r-v, and Bod., MS Eng. Hist. C. 272, pp. 82-87. See also Simon Adams, 'A Puritan Crusade? The Composition of the Earl of Leicester's Expedition to the Netherlands, 1585-1586', in *The Dutch in Crisis, 1485-1588: People and Politics in Leicester's Time* (Leiden, 1988), pp. 7-34.

¹¹⁰ Bernard H. Newdigate, *Michael Drayton and his Circle* (Oxford, 1961), p. 30.

¹¹¹ Sold at Sotheby's 30 November 1970. This copy now survives at the Bodleian, shelfmark J-J Sidney 177.

¹¹² Newdigate, p. 26.

¹¹³ Newdigate, p. 27.

¹¹⁴ The first line puns on his name, 'former good' / 'good ere'. It survives in Bod., MS Gough Norfolk, No. 43, fol. 53r and the Harington manuscript at Arundel Castle, fol. 105v. For the latter, see *The Arundel-Harington Manuscript of Tudor Poetry*, ed. Ruth Hughey, 2 vols. (Columbus, OH, 1960), 1.179-80; cf. Hughey, 'The Harington Manuscript at Arundel Castle and Related Documents', *Library*, 4th ser., 15 (1935), pp. 388-444. A transcript of the Arundel-Harington Manuscript survives at BL, Add. MS 28,635.

¹¹⁵ The hand has not been identified. Another poem on his death survives, see William Camden, *Remains ... Concerning Britain* (1605), p. 55. Reproduced by Newdigate, p. 32, and in R. D. Dunn's edition of the *Remains* (Toronto, Buffalo, NY, and London, 1984), p. 350.

Bourne–Conway marriage dispute of the 1580s, and the Goodere family had benefited from the death of John Sommerville, through whom the Gooderes and Conways were also distant kin. Sir William Goodere had accompanied Leicester’s expedition to the Netherlands with Sir John Conway and the Sidneys.¹¹⁶

Sir Henry Goodere, Donne’s friend

Because his uncle had supported Mary Stuart, Donne’s friend suffered Elizabeth’s reluctance to favour his family. The younger Henry Goodere was knighted by Essex on his Irish campaign of 1599.¹¹⁷ Although we do not know when Goodere and Donne met, it was from Ireland at this time that Goodere first made contact with Donne, as the Oxford editors will reveal in the forthcoming edition of Donne’s letters.¹¹⁸ However, his loyalty to Essex, and his knighthood on this most inflammatory of campaigns, did little to help his chances at court before Elizabeth’s death. Goodere was patronised by Edward, Earl of Bedford, and his wife Lucy (née Harington), Countess of Bedford. Her father had been a close friend of the elder Henry Goodere, and witnessed his will;¹¹⁹ her husband had, like the younger Goodere, been a supporter of Essex, and had joined his uprising in 1601. With the accession of James in 1603, and the concomitant return to grace of the ex-Essexians, Goodere’s hopes of promotion were revived. In 1603 or 1604 he reminded James of ‘some years’ communication between them.¹²⁰ The king, said Goodere, had ‘receaved mee before almost all others into his service and care’.¹²¹ Indeed, there is evidence that Goodere was in

¹¹⁶ Christopher Ocland, *The Fountaine and Welspring of all Variance* (1589), sig. C4v (p. 31).

¹¹⁷ BL, Add. MS 5482, fol. 18v.

¹¹⁸ The editors have identified these letters in Evelyn M. Simpson, *A Study of the Prose Works of John Donne*, 2nd edn. (Oxford, 1948), chapter 12. Simpson’s letter 25 was Goodere’s first letter to Donne. Simpson’s letter 10 is Donne’s reply to Goodere, but was only delivered after Goodere had left Ireland; in Simpson’s letter 13 Donne explains that his first letter had gone astray. I am grateful to Dennis Flynn for sharing with me advance knowledge of these discoveries. For more on the Burley MS, especially the notion that Donne’s letters were intercepted by agents spying on Wotton’s correspondence, see Peter Redford, ‘Correspondence in the Burley Manuscript: A Conjecture’, *JDJ*, pp. 249–56, and ‘Intercepting the Burley Letters’, *Lives and Letters*, 2 (2010), <http://journal.xmera.org/volume-2-no-1-summer-2010>; Claude J. Summers and Ted-Larry Pebworth, ‘Donne’s correspondence with Wotton’, *JDJ*, 10 (1991), pp. 1–36. Ilona Bell has argued that some of the letters in the Burley MS are from Donne to his new wife; “‘Under Ye Rage of a Hott Sonn & yr Eyes’: John Donne’s Love Letters to Ann More”, in *The Eagle and the Dove: Reassessing John Donne*, eds. Claude J. Summers and Ted-Larry Pebworth (Columbia, MI, 1986), pp. 25–52.

¹¹⁹ Bald, *Life*, p. 171.

¹²⁰ See Frederick Charles Cass’s account of his parish, *Monken Hadley* (1880), p. 150.

¹²¹ Newdigate, p. 81.

Scotland attending on Prince Henry in early 1603.¹²² Goodere became a Gentleman of the Privy Chamber in that year, MP for West Looe in 1604, and at Christmas 1604/5 took part in Twelfth Night celebrations alongside Lady Bedford and Sir Robert Drury.¹²³ In 1606 he joined the Earl of Hertford's embassy to Brussels to ratify the Anglo-Spanish treaty of 1604, though in what capacity he attended is not clear.¹²⁴ Using his distant relation to the Cecils in a petition to the Earl of Salisbury in 1605, he was awarded an estate worth £50 annually.¹²⁵ In the same year he participated in a 'fight at foils' with 33 other court gentlemen, including Sir Robert Drury.¹²⁶

However, despite his best efforts, Goodere was never able to secure a dependable source of income. According to a letter to Robert Cecil, Goodere had inherited from his uncle debts of £20,000.¹²⁷ What is more, Goodere made several blunders that damaged his chances at Court. In 1605, he insulted Robert Sidney, Viscount Lisle, by spreading the (true) news that Sidney's son William had stabbed his tutor.¹²⁸ He may have been involved in a marriage negotiation concerning Bedford's brother to Cecil's daughter that somehow caused Cecil offence.¹²⁹ Goodere's character was rendered questionable by the unwise friendships he maintained around the time of the Gunpowder Plot, including Edmund Lascelles, Tobie Matthew, Henry Constable and Sir Edward Baynam.¹³⁰ These specific *faux pas*, his

¹²² HEH, EL 6862, 'A relacion of the Princes noble and vertuous disposicion and of sundrey of his witty and pleasant speaches./', fol. 6. 'In S^r: Tho: Somerset and S^r: Henry Goodyeaes presence a little before his iourney to England my L: of Mar said to him S^r: yow heare howe goodly and riche a contrye England is yet S^r: considering that yo^w haue byn borne and brought vpp in Scotland if I maye be soe bold lett me aske yo^w: w^h of both contryes yo^w loue best. Whereunto he Answered my L: after I haue ben there a while, I will tell yow./'. This must have occurred before 27 March, when Queen Anne regained guardianship of her son from the Earl of Mar. This has been noticed in Heaton, *Writing and Reading Royal Entertainments*, p. 196, and Paul Hunneyball's *HPT* biography of Goodere, 4.430.

¹²³ P. Thomson, 'John Donne and the Countess of Bedford', *MLR*, 44 (1949), pp. 329-40, at p. 333. Cf. *HPT*, 4.430-1 for Goodere's activities as an MP.

¹²⁴ SP 77/7, fol. 130r, names of those to attend Hertford, [April] [1605].

¹²⁵ Gabriel Heaton, 'Performing Gifts', unpublished PhD diss. (Cambridge University, 2003), p. 121.

¹²⁶ *HMC Salisbury* (9), 17.594.

¹²⁷ Cass, *Monken Hadley*, pp. 149-50.

¹²⁸ Viscount Lisle to the Earl of Suffolk, 6 August 1605, *HMC Salisbury* (9), 17.355. *HMC De L'Isle and Dudley* (77), 3.128, 134, 138-9, 189, 192, 233, 462. These references from CRL, Shapiro Papers, Sir Henry Goodere folder.

¹²⁹ Flynn, Hester and Maurer, 'Goodere at Court, 1603-1610'.

¹³⁰ See e.g. Carleton to Sir Walter Cope, 14 October 1605 (o.s.), *HMC Salisbury* (9), 17.454. Cf. SP 14/17/40 (14 December 1605): imprisoned in the Fleet, Lascelles named Goodere as a character-reference to confirm that he was not intending to travel to the Low Countries for illegal purposes. Goodere stood surety for

extravagant spending and lack of regular income led him towards financial ruin, especially when he fell out of favour with the Bedfords. Having concluded his quarterly duties at Court in February 1608, he went to Polesworth and did not return to London until he had to, probably to limit his expenses.¹³¹

In 1611, Goodere required a royal guarantee of immunity from his creditors; around 1614 he considered marrying a rich widow (although perhaps this was a joke) and by the early 1620s he was selling off land around Polesworth simply to feed his family.¹³² When Goodere's daughter Lucy married Francis Nethersole in 1620, Lady Bedford, her godmother, had to help make up her marriage portion. Similarly, Donne and John Selden paid off the debts of Goodere's son John in 1622.¹³³ Donne showed tactful concern about his friend's distractability in the verse letter 'To Sir Henry Goodere' (*HG*), advising him to go abroad, and Jonson implored his friend to be more serious in one of his two epigrams on Goodere.¹³⁴ By all accounts, however, Goodere was charming company, and there is considerable evidence that he was closely involved in contemporary literary activity.

Goodere was the prime mover in Donne's search for patronage in the first decade of the seventeenth century, and is credited with introducing Donne to Lady Bedford,¹³⁵ the two men regularly acted as couriers for one another's letters to her.¹³⁶ Goodere took part in literary tavern culture with men like Hoskins, Brooke and Jonson; the latter's second epigram on Goodere commended his book collection and his circle of friends.¹³⁷ Goodere participated in a number of court masques, including Samuel Daniel's *Vision of the Twelve Goddesses* (1604), and he was one of the Knights of the Barriers at the marriage of the Earl of Essex and Frances Howard in 1606. Goodere's literary interests were probably formed in

Lascelles's debts in 1605, Earl of Dorset to Earl of Salisbury, 14 January 1606, *HMC Salisbury* (9), 18.17. These references are taken from CRL, Shapiro Papers, Goodere folder.

¹³¹ CRL, Shapiro Papers, Goodere file.

¹³² SP 16/524/115, fol. 182.

¹³³ Considine, 'Sir Henry Goodere', *ODNB*.

¹³⁴ Epigram LXXXV, 'To Sir Henry Goodyere', especially lines 11-12. Herford and Simpson, 8.55.

¹³⁵ The Oxford editors will argue that Donne's first letter to Lady Bedford is 'Madam, Amongst many other dignities' (*Letters*, pp. 22-4), and, because it was apparently sent as a New Year's gift, that this dates to shortly before 1 January 1608.

¹³⁶ See eg. *Letters*, pp. 64, 148, 176.

¹³⁷ Epigram LXXXVI, 'To the same'. Herford and Simpson, 8.55.

his youth: not only did his father and uncle write poetry, Michael Drayton had been a page in the households of Goodere's uncles, Henry and Thomas, from around 1573, and witnessed the elder Henry's will in 1595.¹³⁸ Dedicating *England's Heroical Epistles* (1597) to the Earl and Countess of Bedford, Drayton reveals that he was 'bequeathed' to the Bedfords by the elder Henry.¹³⁹ Maintaining loyalty to the Goodere family, Drayton devoted his 1619 *Poems* to the younger Henry, wrote him an ode ('These lyric pieces short and few') and kept up his visits to Polesworth at least as late as 1613, the same year in which Donne is known to have visited.¹⁴⁰ From Drayton we hear of musical meetings by the fireside at Polesworth, with Goodere's lyre player John Hewes leading the singing.¹⁴¹

Goodere's character is most commonly deduced from Donne's letters to him, many of which were published in *Letters to Several Persons of Honour*, some in Gosse's *Lives and Letters* and others in Evelyn Simpson's *Prose Works* and John Hayward's *Complete Poetry and Selected Prose*.¹⁴² The tone and contents of these letters hint that while Goodere was the more senior in terms of social status, Donne nevertheless gave his friend honest advice about sensitive matters like Goodere's wavering religious convictions.¹⁴³ Importantly, Donne's letters clearly indicate that the two men were exchanging books. Donne states explicitly that Goodere's books made Donne's study into 'a pretty library', and specific volumes that passed between them are also mentioned.¹⁴⁴ What is more, Goodere clearly received and kept a number of manuscript documents. On one occasion Donne assumes his friend will have 'laid my papers and books by', and asks for their return.¹⁴⁵ Another time, just before Goodere departed for an extended stay with Lady Huntington, Donne wrote, 'I pray send to my lodging my written [i.e. manuscript] Books: and if you may stay very long,

¹³⁸ PROB 10/158; proved May 1595.

¹³⁹ Michael Drayton, *England's Heroical Epistles* (1597), sig. E1r (p. 25).

¹⁴⁰ Drayton visited later in the year, co-signing a document with Goodere on 3 December. I. A. Shapiro, 'Drayton at Polesworth', *NQ*, 194 (1949), p. 496. For the ode, see Cass, *Monken Hadley*, p. 148.

¹⁴¹ Hewes may have been related to William Hewes, Essex's lyre player. For an account of the latter's performance at Essex's deathbed see Walter Bouchier Devereux, *Lives and Letters of the Devereux, Earls of Essex*, 2 vols. (1853), 1.145 and cf. BL, Add. MS 5830, fol. 122.

¹⁴² Edmund Gosse, *The Life and Letters of John Donne, Dean of St. Paul's*, 2 vols. (1899); Evelyn M. Simpson, *A Study of the Prose Works of John Donne*, rev. edn. (Oxford, 1948 [1924]); John Donne, *Complete Poetry and Selected Prose*, ed. John Hayward (1972 [1929]). Cf. Stanley Johnson, 'Sir Henry Goodere and Donne's Letters', *MLN*, 63 (1948), pp. 38-43.

¹⁴³ See *Letters*, pp. 100-5, esp. p. 103.

¹⁴⁴ *Letters*, p. 31. A catalogue of Goodere's books is mentioned on p. 60; see also pp. 213, 225.

¹⁴⁵ *Letters*, p. 69.

I pray send that Letter in which I sent you certain heads which I purposed to enlarge, for I have them not in any other paper'.¹⁴⁶ Goodere thus had access to his friend's working notes, as well as finished drafts.

The manner in which Donne requests the return of his manuscripts implies not only that he *knew* Goodere stored his papers, but that Goodere's study was, in effect, where Donne *chose* to store his work. Interestingly, Donne elsewhere states that the 'errand' of one verse problem he was sending to Goodere 'is, to aske for his fellows'; 'leave them for me,' he continues, 'and such other of my papers as you will lend me till you return'.¹⁴⁷ In this formulation, Goodere's study becomes a kind of lending library. Indeed, at least twice in the 1610s Donne specifically asked Goodere to keep manuscript copies of his poems because Donne had not retained copies for himself. In a letter of 1605, Donne revealed that he was revising his poems, apparently for a printed volume.¹⁴⁸ He asked Goodere to put aside papers he had been sent, including Latin epigrams and a satirical catalogue of books.¹⁴⁹ Some of the poems were to be rewritten, others to be destroyed.¹⁵⁰

In late 1614 Donne again contemplated compiling a collection of poems to be printed 'as a valediction to the world, before I take Orders' – this time at the instigation of Robert Carr, Earl of Somerset. Again it was to Goodere he turned to gather up his poetical 'rags', asking 'to borrow that old book of you'.¹⁵¹ 'Book' is here a vague term: it might mean Goodere's own commonplace book, into which he copied Donne's verse, a book made and sent by Donne himself, or perhaps a loosely bound collection of authorial holographs assembled over time by Goodere. In any case, Donne's comment is interesting: it 'cost me more

¹⁴⁶ *Letters*, pp. 225-6.

¹⁴⁷ *Letters*, p. 99.

¹⁴⁸ *Poems* (1633), p. 352. This letter has mistakenly been dated to 1611; in his unpublished commentary, Shapiro shows it was sent before Donne's trip to the Continent with Sir Walter Chute in 1605-6.

¹⁴⁹ Cf. John Donne, *The Courtier's Library, or Catalogus Librorum Aulicorum*, ed. Evelyn M. Simpson (1930), pp. 3-4. Simpson dates Donne's satirical catalogue to 1604-5 (p. 13); Piers Brown prefers a broader dating of 1603-11, "'Hac ex consilio meo via progredieris": Courtly Reading and Secretarial Mediation in Donne's *The Courtier's Library*", *RQ*, 61 (2008), pp. 833-66, at p. 833. The subtitle of the *Catalogus Librorum* – '*non vendibilium*' ('not for sale', with a pun on 'unsaleable') – signifies, in a way, another of Donne's many restrictive comments about his own work, albeit in a knowingly jocular fashion.

¹⁵⁰ Bald, *Life*, p. 241, *Index*, 1.1.245. This Latin letter was first printed in *Poems* (1633), pp. 351-2.

¹⁵¹ *Letters*, p. 197.

diligence to seek them,' he wrote, 'then it did to make them'.¹⁵² Given the predominance of letters to Goodere among Donne's surviving correspondence, it seems certain that Goodere also kept a collection of his friend's letters, which was eventually used by the editors of the 1651 volume.¹⁵³ Nine letters to Goodere were also included in the 1633 edition of Donne's poetry, although recent textual work on the printed poems traces their sources to manuscripts not associated with him (principally the O'Flahertie Manuscript, now cited as H6).

According to Alan MacColl, in all Donne's known letters 'there is only one passage that refers to his actually writing out and distributing copies of a poem', and this occurs in a letter to Goodere.¹⁵⁴ Writing about *Lit*, Donne explains that:

though a copy of it were due to you, now, yet I am so unable to serve my self with writing it for you at this time, (being some 30 staves of 9 lines) that I must intreat you to take a promise that you shall have the first[.]¹⁵⁵

These words suggest that Donne usually sent copies of his poems to Goodere immediately they were written ('due to you, now'), and before he sent duplicates to anyone else – though this may simply have been the impression he wished to give his friend. Several other passages in Donne's letters to Goodere clearly refer to Donne's verse. In one, Donne responds to his friend's request that he write a poem about 'the Countess', most likely Elizabeth Hastings, Countess of Huntingdon, daughter of Ferdinando Stanley.¹⁵⁶ Donne initially refuses for two reasons: first, to prevent her thinking of him as a poet, but rather someone on a 'graver course' in life, and secondly because he has 'an integrity to the other Countesse', Lady Bedford, for whom he reserves the majority of his verses. Because Lady Huntingdon is Bedford's 'Picture' – i.e. the exact image of her virtues – Donne agrees to

¹⁵² *Letters*, pp. 196-7. In this letter Donne specifically refers to a poem he calls '*A nostre Countesse chez vous*'.

¹⁵³ Sir Francis Nethersole seems a possible route of provenance. He inherited Polesworth from Goodere, his father-in-law, in 1627. In 1633 and 1634, Nethersole blundered several times while attempting to protect his patron Elizabeth, Queen of Bohemia, and was sent to the Tower. He evaded capture for several days, in which time he hid many of his papers, although there is no suggestion that Donne's letters were among them.

¹⁵⁴ Alan MacColl, 'The Circulation of Donne's Poems in Manuscript', in *John Donne: Essays in Celebration*, ed. A. J. Smith (1972), pp. 28-46, at p. 32.

¹⁵⁵ *Letters*, p. 33.

¹⁵⁶ *Letters*, pp. 103-4.

write, on condition that he is not ‘traded, nor esteemed light’ in the Bedford household. If Goodere were to deem these verses inappropriate, Donne instructs him to keep the poem for himself. Donne was fully aware that Goodere was circulating his lines, though he generally urged his friends to limit dissemination in order to prevent the wrong people reading his writings, or reading unrevised copies. He observed to Goodere, for example, that ‘some of my Pacquets have had more honour then I wished them: which is to be delivered into the hands of greater personages, then I addressed them unto’.¹⁵⁷ Similarly, Donne implored Goodere, ‘let goe no copy of my Problems, till I review them. If it be too late, at least be able to tell me who hath them’.¹⁵⁸ In the context of this thesis, the importance of Goodere in the early circulation of Donne’s verse takes on a particular urgency when one realises how much of Goodere’s writing was owned by the Conways.

The Goodere corpus

As Dennis Kay notes, ‘Any educated person in the sixty years leading up to the English Civil War is liable to have written verse of some kind’, and Goodere was no exception.¹⁵⁹ Goodere is not well known as a poet but, as I will demonstrate, he believed (or at least hoped) that his verse could influence others. Collating attributions by Warner, Considine, Newdigate, Heaton, Beal and Todd, and identifying one further manuscript and a speculatively attributed printed book, I have created a comprehensive list of Goodere’s known literary writings (see Table 1, The Goodere corpus). As these references demonstrate, the greater number of his manuscripts can be found in the Conway Papers; of these, three are poems by Donne, one is an excerpt from a masque by Jonson, the *Theobalds* entertainment, and five are almost certainly Goodere’s own works. In the absence of contrary evidence I am inclined to assign the remaining anonymous verse to Goodere, too. Of the two Goodere manuscripts not in the Conway Papers, a poem of eight eleven-line stanzas entitled ‘Epithalamium of the Princess Marriage, by S^r H. G.:’ was written to celebrate Princess Elizabeth’s 1613 marriage to Frederick, Elector Palatine. In the same manuscript volume is the more famous 36-line collaboration with Donne, ‘A letter

¹⁵⁷ *Letters*, p. 126. The letter is headed to Wotton, but was most likely sent to Goodere. The other letter headed to Wotton in 1651 (pp. 140-3) is also to Goodere.

¹⁵⁸ *Letters*, p. 108. The letter is incorrectly headed ‘To G. M.’.

¹⁵⁹ Dennis Kay, ‘Poems by Sir Walter Aston, and a Date for the Donne/Goodyer Verse Epistle “Alternis Vicibus”’, *RES*, n. s., 37 (1986), pp. 198-210, at p. 198.

written by S^r H. G. and J. D. alternis vicibus:’ (*AltVic*), also from 1613.¹⁶⁰ Neither example is in Goodere’s hand, but I will argue that the dates coincide interestingly with the surviving elegies on Prince Henry, and Donne’s composition of ‘Goodfriday. 1613. Riding Westwards’ (*Goodf*) and the epithalamium on the Overbury marriage (*Eclog*), all written, printed or circulated in the same year. The final Donne poem in his hand, ‘Lovers Infiniteness’ (*LovInf*), is undated.

Table 1, The Goodere Corpus

I. Dateable poems by Goodere or transcribed in his hand (dates in bold indicate manuscripts in the Conway Papers)

- 1594 Verses prefacing Michael Drayton’s *Matilda* (Goodere)
1607 *An Entertainment of the King and Queen at Theobalds* (Jonson), LP1, fols. 41-42
1609 ‘Elegy upon the death of the Lady Markham’ (Goodere), B11, fols. 37r-38v
 1611 Verses prefacing Thomas Coryate’s *Crudities* (Goodere)
1612 Elegy on Prince Henry in *Lachrymae Lachrymarum* (1613), which also circulated in manuscript, B11, fol. 133r-v and SP 14/71/49B (Goodere, Conway Papers). This poem was also in the now-lost Huth collection (see below)
 1613 ‘Epithalamium of the Princess Marriage, by S^r H. G.:’ (Goodere), B13, fol. 37v
 1613 *AltVic* (Donne and Goodere), B13, fol. 39r
1613 *Goodf* (Donne; untitled), B11, fols. 76r-77r
1613 *Eclog* (Donne; untitled), B11, fols. 10r-14r
 1622 Latin tomb inscription on a monument to Sir Henry Rainsford, Clifford Church (Goodere)
1623 ‘An Eulogie and admiration on his Jorney into Spaine’ (Goodere), SP 14/153/12-12X
1624 ‘Congratulations to ye Prince newly returned from Spayne’ (Goodere), SP 14/153/112
1624/5 ‘To the Marquis of Ham: wth the Verses of my Lo: of Buck.’ (Goodere), SP 14/180/15-17.1

II. Non-datable poems by Goodere

(all are manuscript copies in the Conway Papers, B11)

- ‘Lovers Infiniteness’ (*LovInf*, Donne; untitled), fol. 55r-v
 ‘Le Bien Venu’, fols. 58r-59v
 ‘Madame, There are enow whose straynes your beautyes hate’, fol. 134r-v
 ‘Angells first fault was pride, there grew there fall’, fols. 135r-136r
 Fragments of verse, fols. 137r-138v
 ‘Since some with leather doe, I hope I may’, fol. 142r

¹⁶⁰ Kay, p. 210.

Beal also ascribes B11, fol. 49r ('Shall I dare to returne to fires') to Goodere, but the hand is markedly different from Goodere's, described below, and I have left it out of my list.¹⁶¹ Known lost works that Goodere sent Donne include a verse letter and the problem R. E. Bennett calls 'Why do women wear more stones than men?', both of which elicited responses in kind from Donne.¹⁶² Goodere's 'To the Marquis of Ham:' refers to more than one poem about Buckingham by Goodere that are now lost (unless they count among the surviving fragments above). Other manuscripts whose whereabouts are no longer certain include unidentified poems formerly owned by Sir Constantijn Huygens¹⁶³ and a Goodere-autograph copy of Sir Walter Raleigh's 'Shall I like an Hermett dwell', in the now-lost manuscript collection of Henry Arthur Bright (1830-84), a Liverpool shipping merchant, and a member of the Roxburghe Club between 1875 and 1884.¹⁶⁴ Shapiro's notes suggest the Bright papers were kept somewhere in Malvern until relatively recently, in the possession of the unidentified 'Mrs. A. H. Bright'.¹⁶⁵ An emphasis in Shapiro's notes implies that he consulted the poem in person – '[it] is in Goodere's hand' – but I have not

¹⁶¹ *Index*, 1.1.247.

¹⁶² *Letters*, pp. 87, 108; cf. R. E. Bennett, 'Donne's *Letters to Severall Persons of Honour*', *PMLA*, 56 (1941), pp. 120-40, at p. 124.

¹⁶³ 'The Itinerarij in to the North, 10. Aug. 1618. By Richard Corbett. En Vers. & quantités d'autres Poëms, sur toute sorte de sujets par les Meilleurs Auteurs Anglois à scavoir par Edward Lapworth, John Squijr, Tomkis, Sr. Henry Godyer, John Donne, & autres; tous en Anglois. Ex Bibliotheca Constantini Hugenii'. See Richard Todd, 'The Manuscript Sources for Constantijn Huygens's Translation of Four Poems by John Donne, 1630', *EMS*, 11 (2002), pp. 154-80, at p. 161. Todd thinks it most likely that the Goodere material was auctioned in The Hague (along with the Donne material) on 15 March 1688 (NS), and notes that 3000 items belonging to Huygens, which had passed on to Constantijn junior, were auctioned in 1701 and never heard of again (private communication).

¹⁶⁴ Henry A. Bright (ed.), *Poems from Sir Kenelm Digby's Papers*, with commentary by G. F. Warner (1877), pp. 32-4. The Roxburghe Club, Membership since 1812, www.roxburgheclub.org.uk/membership/index.php?MemberID=113 (accessed 19 January 2011). 'Shall I like a hermit dwell' is not recorded in John Considine, 'Sir Henry Goodere', *ODNB*. My thanks to Peter Beal and Gabriel Heaton for answering my queries about Bright's collection, which none of us has been able to trace, although Shapiro claimed he saw the Goodere manuscript, see below. Warner observes that is it 'difficult to understand how part of an elegy to Lady Markham should get among these poems addressed to Lady Venetia [Digby, Sir Kenelm's wife]' (p. 31). Given that a poem to Markham exists alongside poems by Jonson, Raleigh and Goodere in the Conway Papers and the Bright Papers, and that Digby was a friend of the second Viscount, a Conway Papers connection should not be ruled out.

¹⁶⁵ My thanks to Adrian Jarvis, Bright's *ODNB* biographer, and Rose Dixon of Dr Williams's Library for assisting me with this enquiry. Dr Jarvis informs me that there is no accumulation of Bright papers in the Liverpool City Record Office or the Athenaeum Library. Dr Dixon suggests that more of Bright's papers might survive in Unitarian/Dissenting collections, and observes that a volume of notebooks by John Seddon that Bright gave to Renshaw Street Chapel, Liverpool, in 1857, is now in Harris Manchester College, Oxford (MS Seddon 6). This chapel's archives are now in the Liverpool Record Office, but this repository does not contain any relevant Bright papers; neither does Dr. Williams's Library, John Rylands or Harris Manchester.

been able to locate it.¹⁶⁶ A poem Goodere sent to the Queen of Bohemia in 1623 (another copy of SP 14/153/12X), now lost, is discussed in Chapter 5.

One printed work has been ascribed to Goodere, but probably incorrectly, *The Mirrovr of Maiestie*, by 'H. G.' (1618), an emblem book.¹⁶⁷ This work's nineteenth-century editors followed the identification made by W. Carew Hazlitt in *Inedited Poetical Miscellanies, 1584-1700* (1870) from Henry Huth's manuscript collection, in a note at sig. HH1v, on Goodere's elegy on Prince Henry (which appears at sig. DD4r). The identification seems unlikely to me, since Goodere does not display a fascination with emblems elsewhere in his writings. Green and Croston argue the case for the attribution by analysing the *Mirrovr*'s fourth emblem, but there is no significant verbal overlap with Goodere's writings elsewhere, just a passing similarity of ideas. Shapiro argued strongly that the book was not by Goodere.¹⁶⁸ However, Hazlitt's attribution does help identify another lost manuscript copy of Goodere's Prince Henry elegy among Henry Huth's papers. I have not yet traced this manuscript.¹⁶⁹

Donne told Goodere that 'all my things [i.e. writings], not onely by obligation, but by custome, know that that [i.e. to Goodere] is the way they should goe.' These words strongly suggest that Donne was in the habit of sending Goodere his poetry and prose, and much of the material he shared can be identified. In addition to the verses listed above, we can identify a number of Donne manuscripts that came into Goodere's possession. A letter in the Burley manuscript now believed to have been sent to Goodere enclosed ten *Paradoxes*:

'That all things kill themselves' (fol. 309r-v)
 'That women ought to paynt themselves' (fols. 309v-310r)
 'That old men bee more fantastique then young' (fol. 310r-v)
 'That nature is o^r worst guide' (fols. 310v-311v)

¹⁶⁶ CRL, Shapiro Papers, Goodere folder.

¹⁶⁷ See H. G., *The Mirrovr of Maiestie* (1618), eds. Henry Green and James Croston (London and Manchester, 1870).

¹⁶⁸ Letter, *TLS*, 5 February 1949, p. 89.

¹⁶⁹ Goodere is not named in *The Huth Library*, 5 vols. (1880) or in the Sotheby's sale thereafter, *Catalogue of the Famous Library ... Collected by Henry Huth*, 9 vols. (1911-19). The poem is not found in BL, Add. MS 44963 (commonplace book of Anthony Scattergood, *Variorum* siglum B20) or the Haslewood-Kingsborough Manuscript, HEH, HM 198, pt. 1 (siglum HH4) or pt. 2 (siglum HH5), both formerly owned by Huth. Cf. *The English Emblem Tradition*, 4, ed. Peter M. Daly *et al.* (Toronto and London, 1998), pp. 48-9.

- ‘That Cowards only dare dye’ (fols. 311v-312r)
- ‘That the guifts of y^e body are better then those of the mynde’ (fols. 312r-313r)
- ‘That a wise man is knowne by much laughing’ (fol. 313r-v)
- ‘That good is more common then Evill’ (fol. 314r)
- ‘That by Discord things increase’ (fols. 314v-315r)
- ‘That it is possible to find some vertue in some Weomen’ (fol. 315r).¹⁷⁰

Donne sent Goodere an unidentified *Problem* ‘whose errand is, to aske for his fellowes’.¹⁷¹ We know that Goodere was given *Lit*, probably in 1610, and at some point in their friendship Donne sent him a series of Latin epigrams, which we now know only in Jasper Mayne’s English translation.¹⁷² He also sent Goodere ‘a Translation’ of ‘any piece of this Book’, a publication of of grave matter and apparently complex poetical form, which John Klause has suggested might have been the ‘Lamentations of Jeremy’ (*Lam*).¹⁷³ This translation was to be sent to Bedford, and Donne promised Goodere another copy if he wanted one.¹⁷⁴ Donne referred to a poem called ‘*A nostre Countesse chez vous*’, and a verse letter ‘to the best Lady’.¹⁷⁵ In Appendix 10 I suggest the latter poem may have been *BedfWrit*, and I also demonstrate that Goodere must have at least seen *EG*.

Goodere’s hand and related documents

As a group, Goodere’s poems have never been analysed systematically, either for their bibliographical features or their poetical content. Before proceeding to an evaluation of these manuscripts, I will describe Goodere’s hand, providing illustrative examples from SP 14/145/12, a signed autograph letter discussed fully in Chapter 5. The *ductus* of his manuscripts indicates right-leaning letters, loopy long-*s* and *f* forms and general clarity. His majuscule *A* is made of three separate strokes, the first looping low below the line and

¹⁷⁰ These are not listed in the Burley letters published by Simpson (*Prose Works*) because she was working from a modern transcript, whose scribe had not copied them from the original. Dennis Flynn presents the evidence for Goodere’s authorship in “‘Only in Obedience’ to Whom? – The Identity of a Donne Correspondent”, *LC*, 6 (2009), pp. 424-32.

¹⁷¹ *Letters*, p. 99.

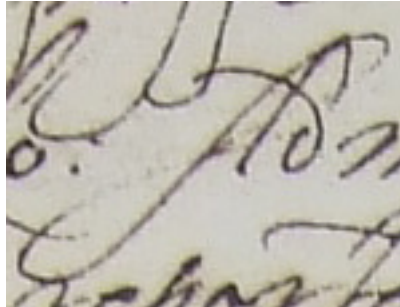
¹⁷² *Letters*, p. 32; cf. M. Thomas Hester, ‘The Epigram’, *Handbook*, pp. 105-121, at p. 107, and Dennis Flynn, ‘Donne’s Education’, *Handbook*, pp. 408-23, at pp. 414-6. For the translations, see *A Sheaf of Miscellany Epigrams Written in Latin by J. D. Translated by J. Main D. D.* (1652), and *Variorum*, 8.255-69.

¹⁷³ John Klause, ‘The Two Occasions of Donne’s Lamentations of Jeremy’, *MP*, 90 (1993), pp. 337-59, at pp. 341-2.

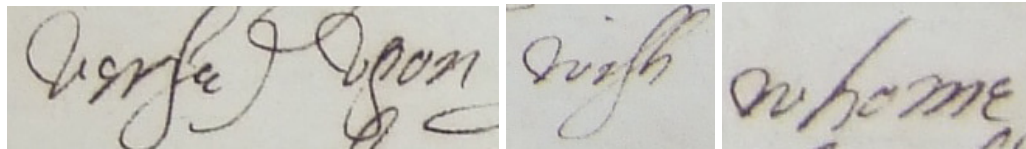
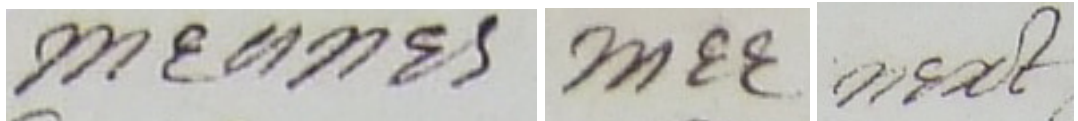
¹⁷⁴ *Letters*, p. 207.

¹⁷⁵ *Letters*, pp. 197, 117

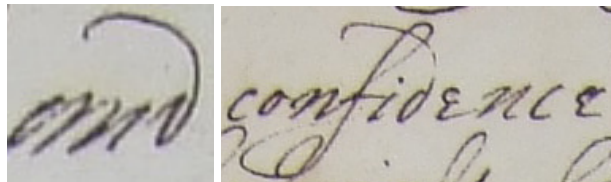
curling at the top rather like a long *s*, the second hooked at the top, shorter and straighter, with a bar between them:



Minuscule *ms* and *ns* begin with short, curved initial upward strokes, while *vs* and *ws* bear a larger initial flourish:



Ascenders of minuscule *ds* loop and extend to the left, with a short terminal hook:



A group of Conway Paper manuscripts including a copy of Donne's 'Loves Usury' (*LovUs*) does not match Goodere's script, but were once believed to have derived from Polesworth. Beal proposed the presence of a 'para-Goodere' hand, 'that is, a man's hand closely resembling Good[ere]'s and possibly belonging to someone associated with his

household'.¹⁷⁶ Dates given are known or conjectured years of composition, not transcription. (See Table 2, The 'para-Goodere' hand.)

Table 2, The 'para-Goodere' hand (all Conway Papers)

B11, fols.

47, 'To a lady resembling my Mistress' (Thomas Carew)	
67-68, 'To the immortal memory of ... the Lady Clifton' (John Beaumont)	1613
99-100, 'The King's Five Senses' (William Drummond?; parody of Jonson)	1623

LPI, fols.

23, 'Poore lines if ere you fortunately stand' (based on Thomas Pestell's 'To the lady Stanhope at Twicknam. 1615')	1615?
25, 'A flye that flew into my Mistris her eye' (Carew)	
43, <i>LovUs</i> (Donne; untitled)	

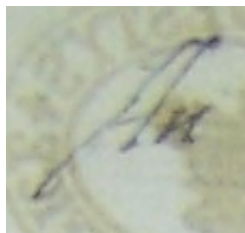
SP 14/115/34*, 'An epithalamium to my Lo of Buck: and his La:', (John Beaumont, 1620), 'late standing in a hauthorne tree' (William Skipwith) and 'Was I too blame to trust' (Lady Mary Wroth)

SP 14/122/58, Fortunes from the *Masque of Gipsies Metamorphosed* (Jonson) 1621

Beal ascribed eight manuscripts to this hand, and Gabriel Heaton also lists four of these.¹⁷⁷

Examining only the letter-forms characteristic of Goodere's hand, we see that this second hand is different in several respects. Majuscule *A* lacks Goodere's extravagant flourish on the first stroke, and the hook of the second. Initial strokes on minuscule *m* and *n* are short, but are sharper in appearance, while the large loops of Goodere's minuscule *v* and *w* contrast with very short initial lines in this hand. Where Goodere's minuscule *ds* curled back to the left, the scribe of these manuscripts maintains his regular italic leaning to the right.

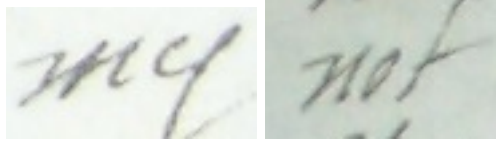
A



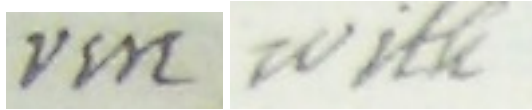
¹⁷⁶ *Index*, 1.1.247-8. The hand was first identified by Peter Croft (Peter Beal, private communication).

¹⁷⁷ Heaton, *Writing and Reading Royal Entertainments*, pp. 192-4.

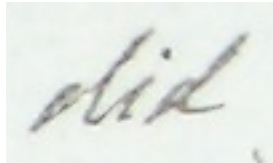
m/n



v/w



d



In the process of revising his *Index* material for the *Catalogue of English Literary Manuscripts*, Beal has come to question the validity of the para-Goodere hand.¹⁷⁸ With no external evidence to prove that this material came from Goodere's household, the argument rests primarily on the (debatable) similarity of script, and an overlap of source material that is neither broad nor consistent enough to be judged properly. Comparison of watermarks in paper used by this hand and Goodere's has proved fruitless: many of the half-sheets lack a watermark, and discernible watermarks indicate that neither scribe used paper stocks consistently. The hand is certainly important: its presence in both B11 and LP1 helps confirm that the latter did indeed derive from the Conway Papers (see Chapter 3). If Goodere was proved to have commissioned the scribe, the poems would consolidate many of the arguments made below about Goodere himself, and would add another eight surviving manuscripts to the number he is known to have circulated to Conway, taking the total to twenty-four.

Further evidence for a Goodere-related provenance might be found in his friendship with William Skipwith, one of the poets transcribed in SP 14/115/34*. The Gooderes and the Skipwiths, of Cotes, Leicester, were related by marriage.¹⁷⁹ According to Richard Cust, Skipwith was 'a prominent member of a literary circle gathered under the patronage of Sir

¹⁷⁸ Private communication. Heaton has also grown more sceptical.

¹⁷⁹ See e.g. *Index*, 1.1.252, and Joshua Eckhardt, *Manuscript Verse Collectors* (Oxford, 2009), p. 85.

Henry Good[ere] and [Henry Hastings,] the fifth earl of Huntingdon'.¹⁸⁰ Although evidence for this coterie is scarce, Skipwith's poems survive alongside Goodere's in a miscellany that once belonged to the Skipwith family, BL, Add. MS 25,707, or B13 (formerly cited as *A25*, and $\Delta 21$ in *Index*).¹⁸¹ This composite volume also contains 60 poems and one problem by Donne, plus material by Beaumont and Pestell, two authors transcribed by the para-Goodere hand in the Conway Papers.¹⁸² I have examined the Hastings Papers at the Huntington Library and Leicester Record Office without finding anything to advance the question of the para-Goodere hand or the Skipwith–Hastings–Goodere coterie proposed by Cust.¹⁸³ If Goodere can be shown to have circulated the significant number of Donne poems in B13 to his friends, we would also have to reappraise the 69 Donne poems contained in the Carnaby Manuscript, or H3 (Harvard, fMS Eng 966.1, formerly cited as *Cy*, and $\Delta 22$ in *Index*): this 99-page volume, written in a single hand (not found in the Conway Papers), was owned by Sir Henry Rainsford, Goodere's brother-in-law.¹⁸⁴ The Conway Papers, on the other hand, represent texts that can be identified with certainty as Goodere's, and provide an unambiguous starting point for an exploration of his role as a scribe. Such a study begins with his initial acquisition of poems from Donne.

Infinite nothings: poems sent between Donne and Goodere

In one of his letters to Goodere, Donne makes specific reference to certain literary enclosures:

¹⁸⁰ Richard Cust, *ODNB*. My thanks to Dr. Cust for answering my further queries.

¹⁸¹ B13 is discussed in Lara M. Crowley, 'Manuscript Context and Literary Interpretation: John Donne's Poetry in Seventeenth-Century England', unpublished PhD diss. (University of Maryland, College Park, 2007), chapter 4; and Hobbs, *Early Seventeenth-Century Verse Miscellany Manuscripts* (Aldershot, 1992), pp. 62–7. Helen Gardner identifies one hand in B13 as belonging to Philip King, Henry King's brother; *Elegies and the Songs and Sonnets*, p. lxxviii.

¹⁸² There are also several poems attributed to Donne that Grierson rejected from the canon: 'O Fruitful garden', 'Fie, fie, you sons of Pallas' and 'Why chose she black' (Grierson, 2.cliii and 1.432). 'Psalm 137', also rejected by Grierson, has been reconsidered by Crowley, 'Manuscript Context', p. 73.

¹⁸³ HEH, Hastings Correspondence Boxes 5–14 (1606–1634) and Hastings Literature Box 1; LCRO, DG 40/75, 76, 78, 79, 81–3, 527, 576. The series *Proceedings of the Leicester Historical Society* also yields nothing.

¹⁸⁴ It might be significant that a 'M^r Rainsford of warwicke' advised one Thomas Case about leases drawn between him and Conway in November 1622, SP 14/134/7, fol. 9.

I pray reade these two problemes: for such light flashes as these have beene my hawkings in my Surry journies. I accompany them with another ragge of verses, worthy of that name for the smalnesse, and age, for it hath long lyen among my other papers, and laughs at them that have adventured to you: for I thinke till now you saw it not, and neither you, nor it should repent it. Sir, if I were any thing, my love to you might multiply it, and dignifie it: But infinite nothings are but one such[.]¹⁸⁵

The letter engages in a continuing dialogue between the two men. Donne was probably responding to a letter of news from Goodere that recounted a hawking expedition, and used Goodere's love of hunting to draw a parallel with the *Problems*, Donne's own (intellectual) sports.¹⁸⁶ Earlier in his letter, Donne admitted that he owed his friend a verse epistle in return for one sent him, and lamented that his (Donne's) own letters were 'nothing else but a confession that I should and would write' more.¹⁸⁷ Donne overtly employs the language of debt and obligation:

I *owed* you a Letter in verse before by mine own promise, and now ... you have hedged in that *debt* by a greater by your Letter in verse[.]¹⁸⁸

This passage projects a form of quasi-economic reciprocity, in which missives were reckoned against each other and balance sought. Donne acknowledged that he sometimes received more letters from Goodere than he had sent, and that the receipt of a new verse letter had increased his obligation. He attempted to restore equilibrium by sending two unidentified prose problems and a 'ragge of verses',¹⁸⁹ described as a short, perhaps light-hearted poem (it 'laughs'), written some time before it was sent.

This poem has never been identified, but the logical candidate seems to be 'Lovers Infiniteness' (*LovInf*), a 33-line poem (in its finished, canonical form) that grapples with the desire entirely to possess a friend or lover: 'If yet I have not all thy love,' its speaker

¹⁸⁵ *Poems* (1633), p. 361, seems the more correct printed version of this letter because of the reading 'Surry' where *Letters*, p. 88, has 'sorry'. The latter has 'read', 'been', 'lien' and 'think' where the former has 'reade', 'beene', 'lyen' and 'thinke'.

¹⁸⁶ Donne refers to the problems as 'flashes', sudden outbursts of brilliance (*OED*, 'flash' *n*², 4a). For 'hawkings' as a metaphor for Donne's compositional process, and an argument that *Goodf* was written on horseback, see Piers Brown, 'Donne's Hawkings', *SEL*, 49 (2009), pp. 67-86.

¹⁸⁷ *Letters*, p. 87.

¹⁸⁸ *Letters*, p. 87. My emphases; 'hedged in' presumably means Donne is indebted to Goodere on all sides.

¹⁸⁹ For 'ragge' see *OED*, 'rag' *n*², II.6a, 'a fragment, a scrap, a remnant'.

complains, ‘Dear, I shall never have it all’.¹⁹⁰ *LovInf* would be an apposite enclosure, given Donne’s letter to Goodere. Its third stanza suggests that the deferral of complete possession allows for love to be given repeatedly: ‘Yet, I would not have all yet, / He that hath all can have no more’ (23-4). In this reading of the poem, Donne’s speaker becomes a friend, not a lover, who has spent ‘Sighs, tears, and oaths, and’ (significantly) ‘letters’ (6) in the hope of ‘hav[ing] thee all’ (11). If the identification is correct, it might explain why this poem is said to ‘laugh’ at its predecessors, because it understands the irony of its content. In this context, Donne’s ‘gift of love’ is only ‘partial’ until the poem is sent.¹⁹¹ Having witnessed the workings of Donne’s study, this verse knows ‘That some’ poems are sent ‘to me’ (i.e. the friend/Goodere), but duplicate copies, from time to time, ‘to others fall’ (10). The problem with this interpretation is that my identification of *LovInf* is based primarily on the apparent wordplay at the end of the letter: ‘my *love* to you might multiply it [the poem’s quality], and dignifie it: But *infinite* nothings are but one such’. However, we do know that Goodere owned at least one copy of the poem, for he sent an autograph transcription of it to Conway (B11, fol. 55r), and may have provided the Skipwiths with their copy (B13, fol. 16r).

As it has survived, Conway’s untitled copy only includes the first two stanzas (22 lines) on the recto of a single leaf measuring 254mm x 168mm. Goodere uses a horizontal line in the left margin of fol. 55r to separate the first two stanzas of *LovInf* and the presence of a similar line after the second stanza suggests that the poem continued. His transcription of *Goodf* (B11, fols. 76r-77r) shows that he sometimes folded his paper to make a bifolium, then wrote only on each recto. It is likely, therefore, that the leaf bearing stanza three has been separated and lost. Collation of substantive textual differences in *LovInf* is not wholly revealing about the authority or provenance of the B11 witness, at least in part because it lacks this stanza. (R9 and Y2 also omit the last stanza, but this seems to be coincidental; see Appendix 9, Schema of Textual Relations for *LovInf*.) Only one clear family of texts emerges from collation, with eight readings unique to them: B13, HH5, C1, O21, Y3, O13,

¹⁹⁰ Lines 1-2. *Poems* (1635), p. 205.

¹⁹¹ Interestingly, a similar list occurs in *Lit*, as the speaker claims he cannot verbalise until God hears him: ‘Thine eare to’our *sighes, teares*, thoughts gives voice and word’. *Poems* (1633), p. 183, stanza XXIII. My emphasis.

R9 and Y2.¹⁹² Of these, B13, C1 and O13 appear slightly closer to one another than the other witnesses. R9 was probably copied from Y2, with which it shares similarities, but from which it deviates independently a number of times. There is no clear pattern of textual association for B11: the witnesses it matches most often are O21, B46, HH5, C9 and H6. Each of these texts shares three matches with B11, although one of these, for B46, C9 and H6, is a weak match (line 12, 'Or if then' as opposed to 'Or if thou'). What can be deduced from these scanty data? Perhaps the most interesting point to note is that B11, certainly derived from Goodere, and B13, supposedly derived from him, record different texts of *LovInf*.¹⁹³ If Goodere circulated both of these witnesses, they were alternative versions of the text.

These textual discrepancies do not fundamentally undermine my argument; indeed, even the identification of *LovInf* in Donne's letter to Goodere is not a necessary factor in this reading, it is merely suggestive. My interpretation of *LovInf* offers potential insights into Goodere's friendship with Donne. We see how bonds of amity might be created, and how a discourse of obligation is embodied in literary missives between the two men. The exchange of verse demonstrates an almost literal meeting of minds: more than kisses, letters mingle souls, as Donne told Wotton. Donne and Goodere took this theory a step further, collaborating directly on *AltVic*, narrowing the remit of their wider epistolary dialogue into the confines of a single poem. Humanist notions of gift-giving, *pace* Erasmus, and their implications for a study of patronage and the afterlives of Donne's poems, are explored more fully in Chapter 5, but my argument in that chapter has its origins here. Donne and Goodere embraced the economics of obligation as a means of encoding their friendship, and the relatively large number of Donne poems associated directly with Goodere is testament to their repeated avowal of this theory. It is Goodere's subsequent interactions with Conway that bring metaphors of the market fully to life. As Donne's poems passed through Goodere's ownership they were transformed from tokens of friendship from Donne to Goodere, into implicit requests for favour from Goodere to Conway, and a down-

¹⁹² See list of abbreviations at the start of the thesis.

¹⁹³ There are five significant variants in 22 comparable lines. B13: 'fears, sighes' (6), 'be be due' (7), 'generall' (9), '[it] thee' (11), 'breast' (14). B11: 'Sighes, teares' (6), 'be due' (7), 'partiall' (9), 'it' (11), 'hart' (14).

payment for this favour, a process I delineate more fully in Chapter 5. Originally, however, these poems also had a very precise contextual relevance. The remainder of this chapter seeks to clarify what these texts represented, politically and socially, to their senders and recipients in the early stages of their circulation.

Two weddings and a funeral: the 1613 poems

Unlike *LovInf*, *AltVic* has been dated with some confidence to 1613, and was probably composed during Donne's visit to Polesworth that year. This was apparently a particularly creative period for Donne, who wrote *Goodf* around the time of the visit. The poem's contents are tied very firmly to its date: Donne notes that his back is to the east, where the sun is rising, on Good Friday, the very day when he is most contemplative about a different son's rising – Christ's resurrection. But the time of composition is also important for two other reasons. First, if the poem was written directly after the visit to Goodere (because Montgomeryshire is west of Polesworth), it would represent a continuation of the intellectual unity expressed poetically in *AltVic*: B13, with its potential connections to Goodere himself, gives particular emphasis to his receipt of the poem, entitling it, 'M^r. I: Dun goeing from H G: on good friday sent him back this Meditacōn, on the Waye'.¹⁹⁴ *Goodf* also develops ideas that Donne had written to Goodere in 1608, which implies that it continues their intellectual discussions.¹⁹⁵ Secondly, the year of composition is one of the most significant factors in an analysis of its place in the Conway Papers, and what that can reveal about the politics of textual transmission in this specific period.

Goodere's copy of *Goodf*, which was left untitled, was written on a sheet of paper measuring 200mm x 290mm, folded once to make four writing sides of 100mm x 145mm; Goodere used only the recto of each folio. The 42 lines of text bear only two substantive emendations. In line 10 Goodere adds 'warde' so that the line reads 'bends towarde y^e East' rather than 'bends to y^e East', and in line 35 'thou lookst mee' becomes 'thou lookst toward

¹⁹⁴ Complicating this narrative are two copies of the poem in the hand of Sir Nathaniel Rich, c.1613-17, which call the poem 'Meditation vpon a Good friday, ryding from London towards Exceter, westward' (DnJ 1430; P2) and 'Meditation on a good friday ridinge from London into y^e West Countrey' (DnJ 1431; PT2). It is possible, therefore, that Donne travelled from London to Exeter, then north to Herbert's, visiting Polesworth only on the return leg of his journey. My thanks to Dennis Flynn for this observation.

¹⁹⁵ See *Letters*, p. 27.

mee', corrections that necessitate small alterations to the metrical patterns. Collation of *Goodf* is even less instructive than for *LovInf*; the small number of substantive variants among the 25 surviving witnesses reveals almost no pattern of textual relation. What may be significant is that among the few variants that exist, four point to a dissimilarity between B11 and B13.¹⁹⁶ As was the case for *LovInf*, if Goodere provided the text of *Goodf* for B13, either deliberate emendations were made by him or Skipwith's scribe, or he was using a different copy text when he transcribed B11.

As with so many documents in the Conway Papers, we have little indication of when this poem arrived in the collection. However, because *Goodf* is one of the few Donne poems to which we can confidently ascribe a date of composition, it makes sense to apply that knowledge to the poem's surrounding bibliographical context. In addition to *Goodf*, and *AltVic*, three other Goodere-related poems date to this period: Donne's *Eclog* (B11, fols. 10r-14v), Goodere's elegy on Prince Henry (B11, fol. 133r-v and SP 14/71/49B) and, outside the Conway Papers, Goodere's 'Epithalamium of the Princess Marriage, by S^r H. G.:.' (B13, fol. 37v). Donne also wrote an epithalamium for this last marriage, 'Epithalamium Vpon Frederick Count Palatine and the Lady Elizabeth marryed on S^t. Valentines day' (*EpEliz*), and his own 'Elegy on the Untimely Death of ... Prince Henry' (*Henry*). These texts represent a cluster of poems written in 1612 and 1613 that link Donne and Goodere, and connect their literary endeavours to the wider political context.

If, as Heather Dubrow argues, patronage and the literature associated with it 'might more fruitfully be studied in terms of decades, or even years within a decade, than in terms of the Renaissance as a whole', then the period 1610 to 1615 would make one of the most interesting places to begin, and not only because Donne was ordained in 1615, making these his last few years as a layman.¹⁹⁷ The 1610 assassination of Henri IV in Paris brought increased pressure on Catholics in England and put the issue of 'loyalty' under intense national scrutiny. It is surely no coincidence that, having converted to Catholicism in 1598,

¹⁹⁶ B13: 'There I should' (line 11), 'spann the Poles,' (21), 'wretched Mother' (30). B11: 'There should I' (11), 'from y^e Poles' (21), 'miserable mother,' (30). Two indifferent variants may also be worth noting: in B13 'th'East' (10) and 'foot stoole' (20), in B11 'y^e East' (10) and 'footstole' (20).

¹⁹⁷ Heather Dubrow, "'The Sun in Water': Donne's Somerset Epithalamium and the Poetics of Patronage", in *The Historical Renaissance*, eds. Heather Dubrow and Richard Strier (1988), pp. 197-219, at p. 214.

Jonson chose to return to the English church in 1610.¹⁹⁸ Donne, for his part, published *Pseudo-Martyr*, an explicit call for duty to the state to supersede religious divides. Dedicating his volume to James himself, Donne made an implicit statement of his own loyalty to the crown. The next few years, however, required a different approach to matters of allegiance. A series of events at court between 1611 and 1613 dramatically altered English politics in a period just before the hand-over of the Cautionary Towns to the Netherlands (1616) compelled the return to England of many respected soldiers, including the elder Edward Conway, many of whom sought new employment. It was at this time that Donne's 1612-13 poems had a particular value for an aspirant courtier like Conway, and when they were probably circulated. First, though, it is important to understand the original contexts in which these poems were written and read.

Alastair Bellany usefully summarises the early years of this crucial half-decade:

Between the beginning of 1611 and the end of 1612, three deaths utterly transformed the political landscape. The earl of Dunbar died early in 1611, creating a power vacuum in the Scottish administration and at the English court, and leaving open several key Scottish and court offices. In May 1612, after a period of physical and perhaps also political decline, Robert Cecil, earl of Salisbury, James's chief minister, died, leaving a huge hole in the Jacobean administration: major offices, including the secretaryship and the treasury, were now vacant, and one of the most dominant voices governing the direction of royal policy at home and abroad was stilled.

Then, of course, came the death of Prince Henry, 'just as his household was threatening to become a court within a court, a haven for discontented men inclined towards a militantly Protestant and expansionist foreign policy'.¹⁹⁹ Over the next twelve months, in 1613, the court witnessed the politically significant marriages of James's daughter Elizabeth to Frederick of Bohemia, and the Earl of Somerset to the scandalously divorced Countess of Essex. By 1612 Donne had published the second of his two *Anniversaries* on the death of Elizabeth Drury, and had travelled with the Drurys to France, Germany and the Netherlands, probably meeting Conway in Spa at this time. On his return, at the end of

¹⁹⁸ Ian Donaldson, 'Perishing and Surviving: The Poetry of Donne and Jonson', *EC*, 51 (2001), pp. 68-85, at p. 81.

¹⁹⁹ Alastair Bellany, *The Politics of Court Scandal in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, 2002), p. 37.

1612, he moved into an outbuilding of the Drury residence.²⁰⁰ Drury had been involved in negotiations for the marriage settlement, and Donne had accompanied him on his diplomatic mission to Germany. Donne developed an independent friendship with Elizabeth, preaching to her in Heidelberg in 1619 and sending her copies of his sermons at her request later in life.²⁰¹ *EpEliz* may therefore have been a genuine personal offering.²⁰²

Donne's epithalamium survives in 28 manuscript copies, which divide into five textual families and record, according to Stringer *et al.*, 'two successive revisions of the text'.²⁰³ Certainly the *Variorum* textual schema records different *states* of the text, but that these are *authorial* revisions cannot, I think, be deduced with confidence. The *Variorum* editors make the case based on textual changes that 'cannot plausibly be explained as corruptions, sophistications, or necessary repairs of obviously defective language'.²⁰⁴ These are the substantive changes:

- 'soone is spedd' to 'straight is spedd' (11)
- 'Where Love and Courage never shall decline' to 'Whose Love...' (27)
- 'Vp vp, fayre bird' to 'Vp vp, fayre Bride' (33)
- 'vnseperable' to 'inseperable' (50)
- 'finding heere such starrs' to '...such store' (60)
- 'there' to 'here' (85)
- 'Now' to 'And' (99)
- 'winn by obseruing whose hand' to '...by obseruing, then whose...' (109)

I think that all these changes – especially the more trivial ones in lines 50, 85, 99 and 109 – can be explained as straightforward scribal errors. Line 60 makes better sense with 'stars' than 'store' and the mis-transcription of 'bird' as 'Bride' (33) is understandable in a marriage poem about a 'Phænix-Bride' (29). Line 11's 'straight' (which does not alter the

²⁰⁰ Bald, *Life*, p. 266. Bald's *Donne and the Drurys* has a diagram of the estate and demonstrates that Donne paid rent for his lodgings (p. 119). His residence there should not, therefore, necessarily be considered as evidence for Drury's patronage of him.

²⁰¹ Goodere's son-in-law Francis Nethersole, was to become Elizabeth's secretary from August 1620. See Carola Oman, *Elizabeth of Bohemia* (1964), e.g. pp. 214-20.

²⁰² Alternatively, Marotti suggests it may have been written to atone for Drury's impolitic 1612 criticism of Frederick of Bohemia; 'John Donne and the Rewards of Patronage', in *Patronage in the Renaissance*, eds. Guy Fitch Lytle and Stephen Orgel (Princeton, NJ, 1981), pp. 207-34, at p. 229.

²⁰³ *Variorum*, 8.111.

²⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 8.111.

meaning here of ‘immediately’) is almost certainly a non-authorial change: to me, ‘soone is spedd’ looks like an intentional inversion of line 9’s ‘speede as soone’.

Donne’s poem is not in the Conway Papers, but Goodere quite likely had a copy – one of the witnesses is found in B13, almost directly alongside Goodere’s epithalamium on the same marriage (Donne’s on fols. 35r-36r, Goodere’s on fols. 37v-38r), a proximity that might suggest Goodere’s involvement in the circulation of both.²⁰⁵ Interestingly, the B13 witness records one of the later (revised or more corrupt) texts of Donne’s epithalamium: just as was the case for *Goodf*, if Goodere was the source of this witness, he either transcribed his text from a later version of the poem, or was himself responsible for introducing some of the changes to the textual tradition. Although neither of these poems can be found in the Conway Papers, they establish the principal political background in which Goodere, Donne and the Conways can be associated, and they initiate questions about patronage and the mechanics of manuscript circulation that take on central importance to the themes addressed in this thesis. Analysing Donne within the Conway Papers allows us not only to interrogate the political contexts of his early literary circulation, but also to challenge received wisdom about his biography.

The rise of Somerset

Dubrow argues that the Bohemian wedding was ‘widely viewed as an antidote to the grief occasioned by the recent death of the bride’s brother’.²⁰⁶ Certainly the recurrent phoenix imagery and keen anticipation of the couple’s sexual union in Donne’s poem promotes an expectation of rebirth and hope – but a hope for what, exactly? In the context of Prince Henry’s death, we might cynically admit the possibility that the poem tacitly celebrates a rebirth of opportunity for writers and courtiers, men like Donne and Goodere, as well as for the future of the state. Elizabeth had been brought up by Lord and Lady Harington, the parents of Lucy, Countess of Bedford; she was led to the church by her brother Charles and

²⁰⁵ Goodere’s epithalamium on Elizabeth’s marriage to Frederick of Bohemia was printed in *English Epithalamies*, ed. Robert H. Case (1896), pp. 51-3. For discussion of its content and style, see Carol V. Caske, ‘Calendrical Imagery in Sir Henry Goodere’s *Epithalamium*’, *Anglia*, 100 (1982), pp. 130-4; Heather Dubrow, *A Happier Eden* (1990), pp. 66-7, 103, 119-21, 125-6; and H. L. Meakin, *John Donne’s Articulations of the Feminine* (Oxford, 1998), pp. 185-90.

²⁰⁶ Dubrow, *Happier Eden*, p. 165. Jonson, too, celebrated the union in *The Lords’ Masque* (1613).

the Earl of Northampton.²⁰⁷ In this tableau, we see her surrounded by the factions emerging at court, between which Donne had to navigate in his search for favour in this period. With the decline of the Cecils, the Howard family, led by Henry Howard, Earl of Northampton, had increasingly asserted their dominance.²⁰⁸ Sensing a threat to his pre-eminence from the emergent Robert Devereux, third Earl of Essex, shown preferment by James from 1603, Northampton arranged for his grand-niece, Frances, to marry Essex in 1606, when the couple were still in their early teens. Their marriage was celebrated by, among many others, Jonson, who wrote *Hymenaei* and *A Challenge at Tilt* for the occasion, and Goodere, who participated in the challenge.²⁰⁹ However, the union proved a miscalculation: Essex's fortunes never lived up to those of his illustrious father, and his marriage to Frances was an emotional and physical, as well as political, mismatch. The marriage ended in disaster after Howard took a lover, Robert Carr (who was then Viscount Rochester and later Earl of Somerset), a key figure in Donne's life between 1613 and 1615.

Carr had risen in influence very quickly. By insinuating himself into the king's private retinue and, as seems likely, by exploiting James's fondness for good-looking younger men, Carr positioned himself as the king's chief favourite. As Linda Levy Peck argues, the sphere of influence in the Jacobean era moved noticeably to the monarch's bedchamber: 'Cecil had derived his power from his control of the administration but Rochester derived his from his attendance on the king.'²¹⁰ Noting another distinction between Elizabethan and Jacobean administration, Dubrow explains that, in contrast to Elizabeth I's skilled juggling of factions and favourites, James 'indulged in single-faction rule: it was through the support of his particular favourite of the moment that one could attract the king's interest and secure his largesse.'²¹¹ This combination of factors did not go unnoticed by his canny courtiers: by October 1611, Carr began to receive more suitors at court than the waning Earl of Salisbury.²¹² With the support of the king, Lady Essex's marriage was duly

²⁰⁷ William Camden, *Annales* (1625), cited in Grierson, 2.92.

²⁰⁸ Cf. Alastair Bellany, 'The Rise of the Howards at Court', *Handbook*, pp. 537-53.

²⁰⁹ Ben Jonson, *Hymenaei* (1606), sig. F1r.

²¹⁰ Linda Levy Peck, *Northampton* (1982), p. 30.

²¹¹ Dubrow, 'Sun in Water', p. 198.

²¹² Peck, *Northampton*, p. 30.

annulled. David Lindley recounts the full details of this scandal,²¹³ but in brief, after she jettisoned Essex, and Rochester had been raised to the earldom of Somerset in November, Howard and Carr married on 26 December 1613 – on the same day, in the same venue and with the same priest as the Essex–Howard ceremony seven years previously. Judging from the £30,000-worth of gifts the couple received, James’s courtiers understood where their allegiances lay.²¹⁴

As David Riggs argues, ‘The triumph of a new favourite invariably meant that fresh opportunities for gain and preferment were in the air’.²¹⁵ Accordingly, the Somerset–Howard marriage caused a huge outpouring of literary tributes. Performances were made of Jonson’s *At a Marriage*, the *Challenge at Tilt* and the *Irish Masque at Court* and Thomas Middleton’s *Masque of Cupid* (now lost).²¹⁶ Jonson also sent a manuscript copy of his poem ‘To the most noble and above his Titles, Robert, Earle of Somerset’.²¹⁷ The anonymous *Masque of Flowers* (perhaps by Thomas Bushell) and Thomas Campion’s *Somerset Masque* were written at the behest of Francis Bacon, and William Alabaster delivered an epithalamium in Latin. In A. R. Braunmuller’s analysis, literature became involved in the ‘propaganda war to vindicate the favourite’s position, his marriage and, by extension, [to limit] the power and sway of his enemies’.²¹⁸ Indeed, when George Chapman’s *Andromeda Liberata, or The Nuptials of Perseus and Andromeda* – originally presented as a manuscript text – was printed in 1614, four Privy Council heavyweights, all Howard acolytes (the Duke of Lennox, the Earls of Marr and Suffolk, and Sir Julius Caesar), were involved in its licensing, despite the fact that only one of them ever licensed

²¹³ David Lindley, *The Trials of Frances Howard* (1993), p. 14. Lindley is significantly more sympathetic to Howard than most of his predecessors. A useful history of reactions to the marriage and to Donne’s poem is provided in William A. McClung and Rodney Simard, ‘Donne’s Somerset Epithalamium and the Erotics of Criticism’, *HLQ*, 50 (1987), pp. 95–106. See also *Variorum*, 8.387–400.

²¹⁴ Lindley, p. 123.

²¹⁵ David Riggs, *Ben Jonson* (1989), p. 202.

²¹⁶ James Knowles, ‘Crack Kisses Not Staves: Sexual Politics and Court Masques in 1613–1614’, in *The Crisis of 1614 and The Addled Parliament*, eds. Steven Clucas and Rosalind Davies (Aldershot, 2003), pp. 143–160. Two songs from the *Masque of Cupids* may survive, see Thomas Middleton, *The Collected Works*, eds. Gary Taylor and John Lavagnino (Oxford, 2007), pp. 1027–33.

²¹⁷ This was inserted into a copy of Jonson’s *Workes* (1640) now at the BL, shelfmark C.28.m.11 (*Index*, JnB 529). This text is discussed further in the Conclusion, pp. 250–3.

²¹⁸ A. R. Braunmuller, ‘Robert Carr, Earl of Somerset, as Collector and Patron’, in Peck, *Mental World*, pp. 230–50, at p. 243.

another book.²¹⁹ Not everyone supported Somerset – a small faction hostile to his ambitions included the Earls of Southampton and Pembroke, and Donne’s patron the Countess of Bedford²²⁰ – but Donne’s own position has been difficult to ascertain. He sent Somerset an epithalamion, ‘Eclogue. 1613. December 26’ (*Eclog*), but despatched it belatedly and with ambivalent feelings. The most recent, and strongest, attempt at defining the Donne–Somerset relationship throws important light on the circulation history of *Eclog*, the longest of his works to survive in the Conway Papers.

The Somerset Epithalamion (*Eclog*)

Inherited opinion about Donne states that Donne took the opportunity of Somerset’s scandalous marriage to ingratiate himself further with the new favourite, on whom he already depended professionally; that, reluctant to take orders until 1615, Donne made his final bid for secular employment at this juncture.²²¹ It has been alleged that after Somerset’s factotum Sir Thomas Overbury was imprisoned (and later poisoned), Donne saw an opportunity to become Somerset’s secretary, and that he was successful in achieving this position.²²² There is no evidence to prove this theory and, as Jeanne Shami shows in a recent essay, based on the discoveries of the Oxford *Letters* editors, the precise opposite is in fact true: any applications for secular employment made by Donne at this time were at the instigation of Somerset, against Donne’s own disposition to become a preacher.²²³

Shami’s article demonstrates that, contrary to the received version of events, Donne wrote to Somerset specifically to request assistance in finding employment in the church that enabled him to serve the King.²²⁴ Somerset had been infringing on the system of ecclesiastical appointments for some time, and represented the route to court-centred

²¹⁹ Braunmuller, p. 242.

²²⁰ Bald, *Donne and Drurys*, pp. 122-3.

²²¹ ‘Soon after the dissolution of [the Addled] Parliament, Donne made his supreme and final effort to secure state employment’, Bald, *Life*, p. 289, citing Walton, *Lives* (1675), pp. 45-6. For a recent repetition of this theory, see John P. Ferris, ‘John Donne’, *HPT*, 4.95-6.

²²² See e.g. Annabel Patterson, ‘John Donne, Kingsman?’, in Peck, *Mental World*, pp. 251-72, at p. 265.

²²³ Jeanne Shami, ‘Donne’s Decision to Take Orders’, *Handbook*, pp. 523-36. My appreciation to Jeanne Shami for sharing this article with me prior to publication; the following three paragraphs are indebted to her analysis.

²²⁴ Shami, p. 530, *TMC*, pp. 319-20, a letter probably written in spring 1613.

church preferment. In Donne's words, Somerset then cast 'distractions or diversions in the ways of [Donne's] hopes'.²²⁵ First, he sent Donne money, for which Donne thanked him, but in an arguably insolent manner.²²⁶ Then, Somerset suggested Donne apply for the position of Clerk of the Council, a role for which Donne was distinctly unqualified. Having been encouraged by Somerset to seek a secular position, Donne considered the role of Ambassador to Venice, an unrealistic ambition and an appointment he did not receive. A final, and more achievable, application was for an office in the Six Clerks in Chancery, after which Donne wrote to implore Somerset 'bid me either hope for this businesse in your Lordship's hand, or else pursue my first purpose [joining the church], or abandon all'.²²⁷ By this point sixteen months had passed since Donne's initial request for assistance, sometime after spring 1613.²²⁸ By the time of the Somerset–Howard marriage, in December 1613, Donne was facing a particular quandary. He felt obligations towards Somerset, and had received money from him, but was wary about seeming to endorse the scandalous marriage. In order to join the church, he had to maintain Somerset's favour, but many of his friends and patrons were from a hostile court faction. However, he was not Somerset's employee, and his comments about having been 'bought' by Carr are given further consideration in the Conclusion to this thesis (pp. 250-2).

Donne's initial concern that he would be expected to write a poem for the marriage is found in a letter to Sir Robert Ker (the man easily confused with Carr), probably sent in December 1613.²²⁹ He told Ker his muse was 'dead', implying that a wedding song would be very difficult to write, but consequently revealed to Goodere that he was open to composing a different work on Somerset's behalf.²³⁰ However, the letter to Goodere is not straightforward. Goodere had evidently written asking whether Donne would write an epithalamium for the marriage and, if so, whether Goodere should convey it. Donne replied:

²²⁵ *Letters*, p. 291.

²²⁶ '[I]t hath pleased your Lordship to make another title to me, by buying me', *Letters*, p. 290. Perhaps this letter was only sent to Ker and not delivered to Somerset: it has such potential to offend that it seems unlikely Donne would want Somerset to read it if he still held hopes of winning his favour.

²²⁷ *TMC*, p. 315, Shami, p. 532.

²²⁸ Shami, p. 530.

²²⁹ *Letters*, p. 270.

²³⁰ *Letters*, p. 180.

My poor study having lyen that way, it may prove possible, that my weak assistance may be of use in this matter, in a more serious fashion, then an Epithalamium. This made me therefore abstinent in that kinde; yet by my troth, I think I shall not scape. I deprehend in my self more then an alacrity, a vehemency to do service to that company; and so, I may find reason to make rime. If it be done, I see not how I can admit that circuit of sending them to you, to be sent hither; that seems a kind of praying to Saints, to whom God must tell first, that such a man prays to them to pray to him. So that I shall lose the honour of that conveyance; but, for recompense, you shall scape the danger of approving it.²³¹

Donne clearly states that he delayed writing or sending the marriage song because he anticipated being given a ‘more serious’ task, presumably a legalistic defence of the Essex–Howard nullity.²³² Only in the absence of this commission, and still under pressure to please Somerset, Donne suggests, did he compose his epithalamium and its accompanying eclogue. Donne’s ambivalence is notable: he feels a vehement need to serve Somerset, but ‘deprehen[s]’ it in himself. Deprehend can mean simply ‘detect’ (*OED*, 3a) or, more pertinently, ‘To catch or detect (a person) in the commission of some evil or secret deed’ (2a).²³³ His feeling, therefore, seems somewhat shameful, and the task something from which he would ideally ‘scape’.

Yet Donne was not being entirely open with Goodere. In a letter to Ker, Donne revealed that Somerset had expressly forbidden him from making any contact with the Earl except via an appointed intermediary (Ker).²³⁴ This ban included approaching Somerset in person and, consequently, not only could Goodere not deliver the poem, Donne himself could not attend the marriage. The complicated ‘praying to Saints’ passage in this letter is an obfuscation of the truth, which strongly suggests that Donne had also been told explicitly to keep secret his existing relationship with Somerset.²³⁵ The letter to Goodere is not about possible strategies for ingratiating himself further with a new patron; rather, read between the lines, it hints at Donne’s agonised efforts to keep a distance from the favourite. What

²³¹ *Letters*, pp. 180-1. Addressed to ‘G. K.’ but almost certainly sent to Goodere.

²³² For more on the possible meanings of the ‘more serious’ work, see Shami, pp. 523-4.

²³³ Shami glosses it as ‘criticizes in himself’, p. 533.

²³⁴ *Letters*, p. 304, cf. Shami, p. 531.

²³⁵ Cf. Shami, p. 534.

seem like cautious or reserved constructions – ‘I *may* find reason to make rime’, ‘*If* it be done’ – are attempts to keep the true situation from Goodere. Recent critical attention has focused on the rhetorical strategies employed by Donne in *Eclog* in order to circumvent condoning this morally suspect marriage.²³⁶ This letter points to bibliographical ‘scape’ tactics at work, too. The textual data supports the evidence of the letter. Stringer *et al.* argue that the poem underwent two stages of revision, and that Conway’s copy, in Goodere’s hand, witnesses the second of these; it thus belongs to a later state of the text, suggesting that Donne did not send Goodere an early copy of the poem.²³⁷

Poetry in motion: the circulation of texts

The evidence I have presented in this chapter suggests that John Donne did not himself send Sir Edward Conway copies of his poems, but that they arrived in the Conway Papers through independent agents. I have argued that, within the Conway Papers, studying the transmission of Sir Henry Goodere’s writings clarifies most significantly our understanding of the circulation of Donne’s texts. Not only was he Donne’s closest friend, there is a particularly strong concentration of evidence pertaining to Goodere’s scribal activity in this archive, and his surviving manuscripts enable us to discern the workings of a specific patronage relationship. By analysing transactions between Goodere and the elder Edward Conway, we are able to learn more both about Donne and the networks of communication into which his writing passed. However, one important question remains: why is it relevant that these poems appear as they do in the Conway Papers? There is little to link Conway to the Howards or the Earl of Somerset and, arguably, Conway’s involvement in court factionalism at this time was somewhat limited by geography – he was stationed in the Netherlands almost permanently from the late 1590s until 1616. Nevertheless, the evidence presented in this chapter suggests that he made regular trips back to London, where he may have interacted with several of Donne’s literary friends. Furthermore, Donne’s letter to Goodere of 1612, cited in my Introduction (p. 8), suggests the two men may have enjoyed closer friendships with Conway than has previously been acknowledged, and that their meeting together in Brussels (albeit unsuccessful) was not a remarkable occurrence.

²³⁶ See e.g. Alison V. Scott, ‘Celebrating the Somerset Wedding: Donne, Patronage, and the Problems of the Gift’, *ERC*, 30 (2004), pp. 261-90.

²³⁷ *Variorum*, 8.140-70, esp. p. 166.

Chapter 5 presents new biographical evidence that strengthens the possibility that Donne and Goodere exchanged literary material with Conway directly. It also analyses the moment at which a poem is transferred from Goodere to Conway, and uses Goodere's revealing letters to Conway in an attempt to define their patronage relationship.

Chapter 5

Textual Transmission and Court Patronage

How and why did men and women send handwritten poetry, drama and literary prose to their friends and social superiors in the seventeenth century? And what were the consequences of such communications? These are the questions I asked at the outset of this thesis. The Conway Papers offer an opportunity to examine the circulation of literary manuscripts in detail, from the moment a scribe began writing his text and onwards to the results and ramifications of its transmission. Manuscript literature is a specialised form of communication and represents a particular act, the personalised, often private, transmission of exactly worded ideas from one person or group to another. To discern the implicit meanings embedded in these communications requires, as I have shown in Chapter 4, a combination of literary, historical and bibliographical analysis. The circulation of literature in manuscript can also represent a kind of alternative economy, in which handwritten documents act as ‘vouchers’ for expressions of non-material obligations.¹ Obligation can imply the sense of duty felt by a client towards a patron who has secured him a lucrative job, or the less tangible feelings of gratitude experienced between friends. Understanding these transactions in an adequately detailed fashion demands a knowledge of contemporary theories of patronage and friendship.

This chapter interrogates the process of manuscript circulation, introducing contemporary theories of friendship and patronage, and examining the moment at which a text escaped a private network of circulation and entered the seventeenth-century gift economy, as defined by a number of recent historians. It explores how the circulation of literary manuscripts facilitated the creation and maintenance of loyalty, obligation and favour among friends and between clients and patrons. In this chapter I analyse the specific episodes in which literary texts were transferred from Goodere to Conway, in an attempt to define the workings of their relationship, placing it within the wider social context of the early seventeenth-century patronage system.

¹ For more on the notion of ‘vouching’ see Paul Trolander and Zeynep Tenger, *Sociable Criticism in England 1625-1725* (Newark, NJ, 2007), e.g. p. 19.

Conway and Goodere: establishing the link

Before I begin, I must negotiate a concern raised by I. A. Shapiro in his private papers. Shapiro worked on Donne's letters for almost 60 years, but died before publishing his findings; his papers survive at the University of Birmingham, though are currently on deposit at Bentley University, Waltham, MA, where they were made available to me in 2010. In his file on Goodere, Shapiro noted how many of Goodere's manuscripts had survived in the Conway Papers, including draft documents explored later in this thesis. Shapiro conjectured that 'The fact that these *drafts* by Goodere came into the Conway papers, like the copies he made of his poems, seems to prove that all his papers came into the hands of the 2nd Viscount Conway, via...?' He later added: 'younger Donne?'² Shapiro never published this theory, so it cannot be presumed his final opinion on the subject, but his doubt threatens to cut the literary link between Goodere and the first Viscount. Donne junior certainly sent the second Viscount literary papers – though there is no direct evidence that these included his father's poems – and obviously had access to a significant cache of Goodere's manuscripts, from which he published many of the letters printed in 1651.³

An alternative route into the Conway Papers, not suggested by Shapiro, would be Sir Francis Nethersole, Goodere's son-in-law, who would have known the elder Edward Conway from their diplomatic service together in Prague in the 1620s. Nethersole was appointed secretary to Elizabeth of Bohemia in August 1620, and Conway arrived on his embassy there in October that year. They certainly maintained contact over the decade: in April 1625, Elizabeth asked Conway to consider Nethersole as successor to George Goring as England's ambassador to her court, and in 1627, after Conway undertook certain responsibilities for licensing the press, Nethersole delivered him some observations about John Cosin's *Book of Hours of Prayer*, which contained a prayer for a man after his soul had departed.⁴

² CRL, Shapiro Papers, Goodere file.

³ See Daniel Starza Smith, 'Busy Young Fool, Unruly Son?', *RES*, 61 (2011), forthcoming.

⁴ A note about this in the State Papers bears two endorsements, the first in Archbishop Laud's handwriting: 'Deliuered to mye Ld Conwayne, God knowes bye whome, & by his Lp sent to his Majesty. Septeb: 13. 1627.'

If a Goodere archive was acquired by the Conway family in the 1630s, '40s or '50s, then the number of literary manuscripts sent directly to the first Viscount could be significantly smaller than I have so far proposed: anything pertaining to Ben Jonson, Christopher Brooke, Richard Martin, John Hoskins, Rowland and Thomas Woodward, Henry King, the Earl of Pembroke, Henry Wotton, Francis and John Beaumont, Walter Raleigh, John Davies or the Skipwith family could potentially have been sent to Goodere and only later incorporated into the Conway Papers. Nevertheless, throughout this chapter I will demonstrate numerous known and probable contacts between Goodere and Conway (in 1603, 1609 or 1610, 1623, 1624, 1625 and 1627) in order to maintain the argument that Donne's friend was sending Conway literary material directly. Certainly not 'all' his papers, as Shapiro speculated, were transmitted posthumously.

Furthermore, the manuscript evidence I will present suggests that Goodere regularly sent poetry directly and indirectly to a number of patrons: Conway, the Duke of Buckingham, the Marquess of Hamilton, the Earl of Bristol, James I, Charles I, Lady Bedford and Elizabeth of Bohemia. The contents of Goodere's other known poems imply they were originally composed to be sent to patrons: one poem surviving as a fragment (B11, fol. 142) was apparently intended as a New Year's gift; 'Madame' (B11, fol. 134) is clearly addressed to a female patron; and 'Bien Venu' (B11, fols. 58-59) refers to 'you Great Lord' and 'sweetest Lord'. 'Angells first fault was pride' (B11, fols. 135-136) thanks a powerful correspondent for granting Goodere permission to express his praise in poetry. Goodere's known and implied approaches to patrons significantly increases the likelihood that his literary manuscripts in the Conway Papers took a direct route between him and the elder Edward Conway, and my analysis of their relationship rests on this basis.

So, how did Goodere and Conway know one another? I argued in Chapter 4 that the two families had been on friendly terms since Elizabeth I's reign, but there are specific incidents between the two men that have not received due attention. It seems as though

A subsequent hand has added, 'It was deliuered by S^r Francis Nethersole'. SP 16/78/19; also cited in L. M. Baker (ed.), *The Letters of Elizabeth Queen of Bohemia* (1953), p. 70.

Conway and Goodere were in contact as early as 1603, shortly before the death of Elizabeth. The evidence for this connection is found in a letter of 24 February 1619, one of Goodere's numerous, increasingly desperate, applications for patronage in the last decade of his life, this time to the Duke of Buckingham. As usual, Goodere gave an account of his family's fall from grace, but on this occasion he did not detail his uncle's service to James's mother. Instead, he recorded his attempts to establish his own path in life, in order to prove that his begging letters were the last resort of a resourceful, hard-working man:

I came no sooner to those yeares y^t I could consider the decay of my poore house by my vncles misfortunes, but I found in my selfe a desire to repayre them by myne owne industry. This I made account I did early when by my parents care I vndertooke y^e study of our lawes, but was diverted by a voluptuous desire of humaner learning and languadges, good ornaments to greate fortunes but myne needed an occupation and a course: That I considered againe, and thought I entred well into when active times I looked into y^e warres; But there I stumbled too, first by the death of my Lo: of Essex: and after by y^e Queenes, when I had contracted wth S^r Ed Conaway (as he wth S^r Fra: Vere for his place in y^e Brill. After all this I thought I beganne happily againe when I was preferred at y^e happy entrance of his Ma^{ty}: to such a service as I thought then might imploy those poore advauntadges I had, and brought wth mee such reasons for his Ma^{tyes} compassion vpon mee, as his Ma^{ty} in Scotland receaved mee before almost all others into his service and care, affirming mee in y^e word of a Prince that he would by imputation make my predecessours merritts myne, and repayre y^e ruynes of my poore family w^{ch} care hee expressed most graciously both y^e last time I was wth his Ma^{ty}: in yo^r presence, and many times before, when he gave mee diverse graunts of good valiew w^{ch} were ever crossed by my Lo: of Salisbury [Cecil] and y^e Howards.⁵

To a modern reader, Goodere's analysis of both the humanities ('good ornaments to greate fortunes') and what we would now call a career ('an occupation and a course') is potentially compromised by the fact these are not his words at all, but Donne's.⁶ Nevertheless, the letter contains unique biographical information about Goodere, the implications of which have never been investigated.⁷

⁵ *Sackville MSS*, no. 2451, 24 February 1619; *sic* no terminal parenthesis.

⁶ Donne's letter to Goodere reads: 'This I made account that I begun early, when I understood the study of our laws: but was diverted by the worst voluptuousnes, which is an Hydroptique immoderate desire of humane learning and languages: beautifull ornaments to great fortunes; but mine needed an occupation, and a course which I thought I entred well into ... And there I stumbled too', *Letters* (1651), p. 51. Noted by Ronald J. Corthell, "'Friendships Sacraments': John Donne's Familiar Letters", *SP*, 78 (1981), pp. 409-25, at p. 422.

⁷ The only source to have noted this fact is Paul Hunneyball, 'Sir Henry Goodyer', *HPT*, 4.430-2.

Attaching himself to Essex's Irish campaign in 1599, Goodere gained military experience and a knighthood, but within two years his new patron was disgraced and executed; subsequently, Goodere made powerful enemies in both the Cecils and the Howards. But the crucial new evidence here is that in 1603, before the accession of James, Goodere had 'contracted' – made some kind of business agreement (extrapolating from the *OED*'s definition of *adj.* 1a) – with Conway. Goodere's failure to finish his parenthetical clause with the appropriate punctuation makes it difficult to discern his meaning, which could be 'I had contracted with Sir Edward Conway [on some matter] (as he had done with Sir Francis Vere for Vere's place in the Brill)' or 'I had contracted with Sir Edward Conway for his place in the Brill (as he had done with Sir Francis Vere [on some other matter])'. I think the second option is more likely: that the two men were negotiating for Goodere to buy the lieutenant-governorship of Brill from Conway. It seems, therefore, that they knew one another *before* 1603, as at least a few months of correspondence must have preceded this agreement.

Goodere implies that the contract was abandoned on Elizabeth's death, when he sensed the renewed potential of reward under James. Indeed, as a manuscript preserved at the Huntington Library shows, by the end of the year Goodere was in Scotland waiting on the new King's heir.⁸ Nevertheless, this early connection sets the scene for a correspondence with Conway that continued over almost three decades, and underscores the need to re-evaluate several instances of textual circulation in which both men were involved. This begins with a study of Donne's *Problems*, his witty interrogations of specious questions like 'Why have bastards best fortune?' and 'Why does the pox so much affect to undermine the nose?' I believe that both Goodere and Conway were involved in circulating texts of the *Problems* on the Continent, and that Donne's work was therefore being read outside the British Isles earlier than has previously been recognised.

⁸ HEH, EL 6862, fol. 6r, 'A relacion of the Princes noble and vertuous disposicion and of sundrey of his witty and pleasant speaches./'.

The *Problems*, and the circulation of Donne material abroad c.1603-16

In 1616, the English printer Godfrey Basson published a thin duodecimo, *Problematum miscellaneorum, Antaristotelicorum, centuria dimidiata, ad dominos studiosos in Academia Leydensi*. The author was Lodewijk Rouzee (or Ludovicus Rouzaeus, b.1586), a Brabanter from Antwerp who studied at the University of Leiden.⁹ *Problematum miscellaneorum* contained 50 *Problems* in total, including Latin translations of thirteen of Donne's works in this genre. Rouzee acknowledged that some of his *Problems* had come from an English source, and he admitted making alterations and additions to his original text. However, he did not name Donne, claiming that the original author had recently embarked on a 'more serious walk of life', and would 'now be unwilling to acknowledge these trifles'.¹⁰ This indicates that Rouzee knew of Donne's entry into the church in 1615, the previous year; it also suggests that whoever supplied Rouzee with his texts was able to identify their provenance. I agree with both Helen Peters and Paul Sellin that the source was the elder Edward Conway.¹¹

There are three significant factors linking Rouzee to Conway: a book dedication, a mutual connection to Sir Horace Vere and Rouzee's residence with Conway both in London and the Brill. In 1632, Rouzee – by this time a doctor practising in Ashford, Kent – published *The Queenes Welles*, a book extolling the virtues of various natural spas in England and Europe.¹² The book was dedicated to the second Viscount Conway, but it is obvious that Rouzee had wished to present it to the recently deceased first Viscount, whose lifelong infirmities made him a frequent visitor of spas:

Ingratitude is the foulest vice in the word, and as the old saying is, *Ingratum si dixeris, omnia dixeris* [if you call a man ungrateful, you say all that can be said

⁹ He also used Anglicised versions of his name, Lodwick or Lodowick Rowzee, and Lewis Rouse, and a more Gallic sounding surname, Rouzée. He is not listed among Donne's known readers in Ernest W. Sullivan, II, 'John Donne's Seventeenth-Century Readers', in *The Oxford Handbook of John Donne*, eds. Jeanne Shami, Dennis Flynn and M. Thomas Hester (Oxford, 2011), pp. 26-33, although Sullivan mentions him in a later article, 'Modern scholarly editions of the prose of John Donne', pp. 65-80, at p. 72 (calling him Louis Rouzee).

¹⁰ Original Latin, sig. *9r-v; translation taken from R. C. Bald, 'A Latin Version of Donne's Problems', *MP*, 41 (1964), pp. 198-203, at p. 201. Bald was the first to identify these problems.

¹¹ John Donne, *Paradoxes and Problems*, ed. Helen Peters (Oxford, 1980), p. xciv (henceforth Peters); Paul R. Sellin, *So Doth, So Is Religion* (Columbia, MI, 1988), p. 21.

¹² London: John Dawson, 1632.

against him]. I may haue incurred the imputation of it these six & twentie yeares (for so long it is since I harboured vnder your Noble deceased Fathers roofe) for not expressing my thankfulnesse for the courteous vsage I found at his hands, both here in *England*, and at the *Briele* in *Holland*. What want of opportunities hindered me to expresse to him now dead, opportunitie now offering it selfe, I will striue to doe it vnto your Lordship his living Image.¹³

This passage dates the end of Rouzee's stay with Conway to roughly 1606, because *The Queenes Welles* was published 26 years after he last lived with the Conways. It seems likely, therefore, that Rouzee moved in with Conway in 1596, aged 10: he recalls a full decade in England, and in his problem 15, 'Cur Gallum in suo famulatio habere tantoperè affectant Nobiles Angli' ('Why do English nobles so greatly aspire to having a Frenchman among their servants?'), he suggests that he spent his youth living in a noble household.¹⁴ This would accord with his claim that he knew the younger Edward Conway (baptised 1594) 'a teneris vnguiculis', i.e. from a young age (literally 'from tender little nails'). By 1610 Rouzee was serving with Sir Horace Vere at the siege of Juliers, and it seems likely he was recommended to his employment by Conway.¹⁵ Rouzee and Conway probably remained in contact until the end of the decade at the very least, and Rouzee may have considered Conway his guardian until he joined Vere's regiment.

Rouzee matriculated from Leiden University in October 1615.¹⁶ He claims his *Problems* were composed during his first months at Leiden, while he was bored and lonely in a new town.¹⁷ However, he also acknowledges that some of his *Problems* derive from a non-Latin source, which he acquired in manuscript six or seven years prior to publication. This dates his first reading of the *Problems* to 1609-10. Peters credibly believes that Conway supplied Rouzee with his copy-text, but does not suggest (as Paul Sellin claims she does) that the source derived from Conway 'in Zeeland'.¹⁸ It is Sellin who argues that 'the version that Rouzaeus used as his original seems as likely to have been procured in the Netherlands as

¹³ Rouzee, *The Queenes Welles*, sig. A3r-v. Franklin B. Williams incorrectly lists this as a dedication to the elder Conway.

¹⁴ Cf. Bald, 'Latin problems', p. 199.

¹⁵ Rouzee, *Welles*, p. 18.

¹⁶ Rouzee, *Problematum miscellaneorum*, sig. *2r-v. Cf. Peters, p. 139.

¹⁷ Sigs. *2v-3r.

¹⁸ Peters, p. xcv. Cf. Sellin, p. 21.

in England'.¹⁹ Bald observed that Rouzee's source was related to a copy of 19 *Problems* in a composite volume of manuscripts compiled by Elias Ashmole (1617-92), and now in the Bodleian (MS Ashmole 826, fols. 249-251; cited as *Ash 826*; *Index*, DnJ 5082).²⁰

Ashmole's scribe was 'careless and uneducated' according to Peters, who used Rouzee's Latin translation to correct the English of *Ash 826* for her edition.²¹ Since Ashmole was unlikely to have acquired his collection before the mid-1630s, if the two do indeed derive from the same source, then Rouzee's copy was made more than two decades earlier.

Peters claimed it was 'likely' that Donne sent Conway his *Problems* directly, and that Conway gave them to Rouzee.²² However, I think that the circulation of Donne's *Problems* was mediated, and that the agent was Sir Henry Goodere, the only person known for certain to have received *Problems* directly from Donne *and* to have sent copies of Donne's writings to Conway.²³ Furthermore, there was a specific occasion that would have enabled the transfer that has previously gone unnoticed. In August 1609, Goodere travelled with Winwood's embassy to the Low Countries, disembarking at the Brill on 9/19 August. Writing to Salisbury on 6 September from The Hague, Winwood revealed that a letter he had sent on 14/24 August, from Delft, had been delivered by Goodere. Conway almost certainly met the embassy: immediately after passing through the Brill, Winwood wrote to Salisbury, attempting to advance Conway's application for the newly vacant governorship.²⁴ Goodere and Conway could therefore have exchanged literary material between 9/19 and 14/24 August 1609.

Donne's work was certainly causing interest abroad at this time. William Beaulieu sent a copy of *Pseudo-Martyr* to William Trumbull in Brussels in January 1610, and Trumbull asked one 'J. Thorys' (possibly Gabriel Harvey's friend John Thorius, b.1568) for another

¹⁹ Sellin, p. 21.

²⁰ Bald, 'Latin problems', p. 201. This manuscript is discussed by Evelyn Simpson in 'More Manuscripts of Donne's *Paradoxes and Problems*', *RES*, 10 (1934), pp. 288-300, at pp. 293-7. Many of Ashmole's books and manuscripts were destroyed by a fire at the Middle Temple in January 1679. Michael Hunter, 'Elias Ashmole', *ODNB*.

²¹ Peters, pp. lxxii-lxxiii.

²² Peters, p. 139.

²³ For Donne sending *Problems* to Goodere, see e.g. *Letters*, pp. 88, 99, 108.

²⁴ *Memorials of Affairs of State Collected (chiefly) from the Original Papers of Sir Ralph Winwood*, 3 vols. (1725), 3.62-4.

copy in December that year.²⁵ These volumes were printed rather than manuscript texts, but they nevertheless attest to a contemporary international attention. Several manuscripts among Conway's collection indicate that they were sent from, or to, or collected on, the Continent: a song in Dutch that describes drinking haunts around The Hague (B11, fol. 169r-v), a poem entitled 'Written to a friend in the Low Countries' (B11, fol. 63r) and two verses by Peter Apsley, sent from 'Zirrichseas' (LP1, fols. 12-15; presumably Zürichsee in modern-day Austria; see also p. 130).²⁶ It seems likely that some of his Latin poetry derived from the Netherlands too, including the two copies of 'Josephus Scaliger de mirandis terræ Hollandicæ' (B11, fols. 154r-155v). Certainly these exchanges pre-date the first-known poetical translations of Donne by Constantijn Huygens in the 1630s. *Pseudo-Martyr*, a tract that called for potential recusants to take the Oath of Allegiance, would have found an ideal audience among Protestant Englishmen like Trumbull conducting military and ambassadorial duties on the Continent. Sellin suggests that the circulation of witty paradoxical works like the *Problems* among Dutch and English military circles indicates that it was not exclusively political and religious material that was being procured abroad: readers in the English military garrisons were eager for light-hearted entertainment as well as spiritual ammunition.²⁷ This argument unnecessarily limits potential interpretations of the *Problems*, which often deal specifically with political and religious matters. Nevertheless, Conway's probable involvement in the circulation of these works prompts a re-evaluation of another lacuna in the history of Donne's texts, because it increases the probability that Conway saw a manuscript copy of *Biathanatos*.

***Biathanatos*, c.1610**

In a letter to Goodere – undated but probably written in 1610²⁸ – Donne recorded a bout of severe illness,

²⁵ HMC Downshire (75), 2.227 and 2.413. Howard Jones, 'John Thorius', ODNB. Sullivan omits Beaulieu and Thorius from Donne's early readership, 'John Donne's Seventeenth-Century Readers', *op. cit.*

²⁶ Cf. Paul R. Sellin and Augustus J. Veenendall, Jr., 'Een Kroegentockt door oud den Haag: Shady Light on English Friends of John Donne in the Netherlands', *Publications of the American Association for Netherlandic Studies*, 1 (1988), pp. 13-23.

²⁷ Sellin makes a similar argument in *So Doth*, p. 20. Cf. Weever's satirical pamphlet and several plays in Conway's 1610 book list. See Appendix 4.

²⁸ Bald dated it to 1607 or 1608 (*Life*, p. 201), but in his draft commentary on this letter Shapiro, basing his case on the known periods of major illness in Donne's life, argued that 1610 was the likelier date. CRL, Shapiro Papers S43.

a sicknesse which I cannot name nor describe ... it hath so much of a continuall Cramp, that it wrests the sinews, so much of a Tetane [i.e. tetanus] that it withdraws and puls the mouth, and so much of the Gout, (which they whose counsell I use, say it is) that it is not like to be cured[.]²⁹

Donne seemed genuinely concerned for his life, assuring Goodere only half-jokingly that in the event of his death, he would leave his friend as much money as possible ‘that you suffer not for me, in your bonds’.³⁰ He expressed concern about his ‘poor fame’, and how he would be remembered after passing, and told Goodere of a new poem, composed while bedbound, ‘a meditation in verse, which I call a Litany’. He apologised for not enclosing a copy of this poem (probably *Lit*) for Goodere, being too ill, but promised to send him the first copy that was made. Nevertheless, a highly significant transfer of material *did* take place at this time, and has gone largely overlooked. Donne continued his letter:

The day before I lay down, I was at *London*, where I delivered your Letter for S^r *Ed. Conway*, and received another for you, with the copy of my Book, of which it is impossible for me to give you a copy so soon, for it is not of much lesse then 300 pages. If I die, it shall come to you in that fashion that your letter desires it. If I warm again ... you and I shall speak together of [it.]³¹

Donne, it would seem, was carrying letters between Goodere and Conway and, while he was doing so, took the opportunity to receive from Conway a copy of one of his (Donne’s) own works, which had been sent to Conway on an earlier occasion. However, there is some dispute among critics about exactly what is being described in this passage. Paul Sellin, for example, is ‘somewhat skeptical about what this letter proves’, though he expresses his doubts in a rather bewildering fashion:

Donne might ... have received the ‘Book’ from the person to whom he delivered the Goodyer letter to Conway rather than from Conway via the person who delivered the letter to Goodyer for Donne to deliver[.]³²

²⁹ *Letters*, pp. 31-2. This usage of ‘tetane’ cited (from Gosse, 1.195) by *OED*, ‘tetanus’, *n.* 1. David Colclough (*ODNB*), following Bald, identifies the illness as chronic neuritis, but tetanus and gout are not associated with this complaint, so Donne might have been suffering a combination of ailments.

³⁰ Bald claimed that Goodere regularly stood surety for Donne’s debts (*Life*, pp. 81, 164, 244), but the letter quoted here is the only evidence for such a view, apart from the more ambiguous statement ‘my fortune hath burdened you’ (*Letters*, p. 59).

³¹ *Letters*, p. 34.

³² Sellin, *So Doth*, p. 18.

Donne certainly gave Conway a letter from Goodere. But did the letter he received in return, *for* Goodere, come *from* Conway? And does the sentence imply that the book was given with the letter *to* Conway, or received with the letter *for* Goodere? And what was the transmitted book?

The last question is best addressed first. In 1610 Donne published *Pseudo-Martyr*, but this cannot be the volume in question, because Donne is clear that the book will not be printed. Bald identified the volume as *Biathanatos*, Donne's lengthy treatise on suicide, which Bald conjectured was finished in 1607/08, one of the reasons he dated the letter to this year.³³ *Biathanatos* does in fact exist in a surviving 286-page manuscript copy (Bod., MS è Musaeo 131), a fact which suggests that this book of 'not much lesse then 300 pages' may well have been a scribal copy of Donne's suicide tract.³⁴ One possibility that no critic has considered is that the book was a composite manuscript of Donne's poetry, like 'that old book' of Donne's verse that Goodere owned around 1614, or perhaps even identical with it.³⁵ However, it is worth noting that in the 1651 *Letters*, when referring to his own work, Donne uses the word 'book' consistently when talking of *Biathanatos*.³⁶ Furthermore, Conway's acquisition of the *Problems* suggests he enjoyed the amusingly specious application of logic that both the *Problems* and *Biathanatos* evince.

Perhaps most significantly, nothing from the Donne canon presents itself as an alternative: the book was almost certainly *Biathanatos*. Very likely, whatever this book contained, there was only one copy of it. When Donne refers to 'the copy of my Book', he seems to mean that he has picked up precisely 'the copy' – the singular autograph or scribal transcription

³³ *Life*, p. 210.

³⁴ *Life*, p. 201. Peter Beal, *In Praise of Scribes* (Oxford, 1998), p. 40. The other known surviving scribal copy, at Canterbury Cathedral Archives, is 245 pages long. The following analysis accepts that the book was in fact *Biathanatos*, but the evidence that Donne sent Conway a large sample of his writing is not invalidated if it was not this work.

³⁵ *Letters*, p. 197.

³⁶ *Letters*, p. 20-2. Although it is also worth noting that in the introductory epistle to the reader in the printed *Ignatius His Conclave* (1611), supposedly written by the printer, but potentially written by Donne, *Pseudo-Martyr* is referred to as his 'alterum librum'/'other booke' (see T. S. Healy's edition (Oxford, 1969), pp. 4-5). Donne's private representations of *Biathanatos* and his wish to keep it a secret in public must be reckoned against one another.

of his own final draft. He subsequently talks of ‘a’ copy (the one he promised Goodere), implying that ‘the’ copy was exclusive, and that any further versions would be non-exclusive. Such an opinion may be corroborated by his actual physical description of the book as ‘not of much lesse then 300 pages’. If Donne thought the size of the final scribal product worthy of comment at all (and well he might, for it is the second largest work in his canon), would he not have mentioned this fact to Goodere previously? The implication is that this volume represented a new work, a conclusion which – if Shapiro’s dating of the letter is correct – suggests *Biathanatos* was completed nearer 1610 than 1608, or that only in 1610 did Donne have his working copy turned into a book fit for circulation.

Peter Beal accepts that the book was *Biathanatos*, but argues that Donne’s ‘rather ambiguous’ sentence is misleading about Conway’s involvement:

[Donne’s] sentence contains, I think, two or three quite separate and unrelated statements. The dominant idea is not what is going on in relation to *Conway*, but what Donne is doing in *London*. So I would interpret Donne’s slightly convoluted sentence as saying: ‘The day before I became ill, I was at London, where I delivered your letter for Sir Edward Conway, and where I received another letter for you, and where I also collected the copy of my book’. So, no, I do not think that Conway did necessarily ever see the work.³⁷

Beal’s rephrasing raises doubts about Donne’s meaning, which initially seemed quite straightforward. However, Beal’s paraphrase does not account for the linking phrase ‘with the’, which firmly ties the book either to the letter Donne delivered, or the one he received. The fluid syntax of Donne’s statement suggests to me that Conway connects the delivery of one letter, receipt of another, and acquisition of a book, but Beal’s caution about the sentence structure remains salutary. One might also worry about Donne’s consequent declaration to Goodere, ‘At this time I onely assure you, that I have not *appointed* it upon any person, nor ever purposed to print it’.³⁸ The past participle in this context seems to mean ‘declare[d] ... the destination of specific property’ (*OED*, ‘appoint’, v. 10). This could imply that Donne had not yet *given* the book to anyone to read, a claim which – if true – would fatally flaw the notion that he lent it to Conway. More likely, I think, Donne

³⁷ Beal, *Scribes*, p. 34. Italics in original.

³⁸ *Letters*, p. 34, my emphasis.

means ‘I have not resolved to *give it permanently* to anyone’, an interpretation which keeps open the possibility of a Conway link.

Perhaps because of the uncertainty surrounding it, the *Biathanatos* episode has been overlooked or deemed unimportant by some commentators; it is not examined in Sullivan’s edition of the work, in the relevant section of Keynes’s *Bibliography* or by Bald when he assembled the evidence of what he perceived to be Donne’s self-promotion in this period.³⁹ Discussing possible manuscript sources for the printed version of *Biathanatos*, Sullivan elsewhere claims that ‘No evidence supports the existence at any time of manuscript copies other than those sent to Ker (which no longer exists) and Herbert’ (discussed below); Sullivan states this while introducing into his argument Donne’s letter to Goodere, which must count as evidence of another copy, even if one subsequently discounts that evidence.⁴⁰ Sellin, conversely, is robust about the ‘almost too startling’ implications of this letter.⁴¹ Donne, in his 1619 letter to Ker, claims no other copy had been made of the work, a statement which the 1610 letter to Goodere apparently invalidates.

Alternatively, it implies that the manuscript Donne collected on this occasion was in his own hand, but we are nevertheless left with more copies of *Biathanatos* than Donne was keen to acknowledge. Other than the hypothetical transcription given to Conway, manuscripts of *Biathanatos* no longer extant include the one sent to Ker in 1619, the copy or copies circulated among ‘some particular friends in both Universities’,⁴² and one in the possession of Sir Gervase Clifton (1587-1666) that was read by William Cavendish (1592-1676), Duke of Newcastle.⁴³ Sellin argues for the likelihood of an original holograph copy retained by Donne, ‘since it is rather difficult to imagine that he would have entrusted his

³⁹ John Donne, *Biathanatos*, ed. Ernest W. Sullivan, II (1984); Keynes, *Bibliography*, 4th edn. (Oxford, 1973); *Life*, p. 160.

⁴⁰ Ernest W. Sullivan, II, ‘The Genesis and Transmission of Donne’s *Biathanatos*’, *Library*, 5th ser., 31 (1976), pp. 52-72, at p. 57.

⁴¹ Sellin, *So Doth*, p. 19.

⁴² *Letters*, pp. 21.

⁴³ The latter claim is made by Donne jr. in a presentation copy of the printed *Biathanatos* now at the Houghton Library (shelfmark EC.D7187.644b (C)). Cited in Beal, *Scribes*, p. 34. Sullivan thinks Cavendish and Clifton may count among the university friends (*Biathanatos*, ed. Sullivan, pp. xxxv-xxxvi) but Beal is sceptical about this suggestion.

only copy to the vagaries of seventeenth-century travel'.⁴⁴ The lost original holograph may (or may not) have been the manuscript that John Donne junior claims to have found among his father's papers when he printed the work in the 1640s.

Two manuscript copies of *Biathanatos* do survive, however, in the Bodleian (MS è Musaeo 131) and Canterbury Cathedral Archives (MS U210/2/2). The first is a formal presentation copy given to Edward, Lord Herbert of Cherbury, and features a dedicatory epistle in Donne's autograph which Shapiro dated to 1611.⁴⁵ Herbert presented it to the Bodleian in 1642. The Canterbury copy is also a formal scribal product, written on pre-ruled pages in dark brown ink in a single hand, with marginal references to Donne's sources added afterwards in red ink.⁴⁶ The latter document was discovered by Nigel Ramsay, and examined by Peter Beal, who speculated that it may once have belonged to Lucy, Countess of Bedford.⁴⁷ Because comparatively little work has been done on the Canterbury manuscript, no researcher to date has asked whether it is the copy Donne collected in 1610, or whether it might have derived from Conway's household. In 1610 Conway was commissioning extensive scribal work for his own domestic purposes. Two documents survive from 1610 that indicate a complete survey of all Conway's goods, including his library.⁴⁸ Might Donne have collected the scribal *Biathanatos* from Conway because the scribe was a member of Conway's household? Probably not: a comparison of the hand of Conway's servant William Clough, who transcribed the Ragley inventories, and the hand of the Canterbury scribe, rules out Clough as a potential candidate; at 245 pages length, the Canterbury manuscript is also considerably shorter than the almost 300 pages specified by Donne. Conway almost certainly did not play a part in its creation. Furthermore, given the manuscript's numerous uncorrected scribal errors, Donne was probably not involved in its production either. It is unlikely, therefore, to represent the book that Donne collected at this time.

⁴⁴ Sellin, *So Doth*, p. 19.

⁴⁵ CRL, Shapiro Papers.

⁴⁶ For images, see Beal, *Scribes*, pp. 33, 36 (Bodleian MS); pp. 39, 41, 43, 46, 48, 51, 56 (Canterbury MS).

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 57.

⁴⁸ SP 14/57/114A, an inventory of Ragley Hall, and SP 14/57/114B, a catalogue of Conway's library. See Appendix 4.

***Biathanatos* and Ben Jonson**

Herbert's copy of *Biathanatos*, on the other hand, represents a text authorised and probably commissioned by Donne, as the presence of his autograph dedication indicates. Mark Bland has argued that the text was written out by no less a scribe than Ben Jonson, at some point between late 1608 and late 1611, a proposal that would closely associate, on a large-scale patronage project, two authors whose literary works and holograph manuscripts both appear in the Conway Papers.⁴⁹ Clearly, this matter has a direct bearing on the questions addressed in this thesis, and is worth exploring in detail. Bland's theory rests on a combination of palaeographical and paper-stock evidence. The Herbert manuscript (henceforth *Herbert*) has been transcribed on white Italian paper featuring a watermark of a double pennant flag and the initials 'G3'. As Bland notes, this paper was used several times by Jonson in his surviving autograph manuscripts: in his poem on Sir Horace Vere, in the Conway Papers (B11, fol. 87),⁵⁰ the presentation manuscript of *The Masque of Queenes* (BL, MS Royal 18.A.xlv; henceforth *Queenes*), probably sent in 1609, and the 'Epitaph on Celia Bulstrode' now in the Houghton Library (Lowell MS 1455; henceforth *Lowell*), written in August 1609 while George Gerrard's man waited for Jonson to finish it.⁵¹ Bland dates 'Vere' quite definitively to 1609, judging it more likely that Jonson would send Vere a poem while he was in England between 1607 and 1609. The editors of the forthcoming Cambridge *Jonson*, allowing that literary material was being circulated to officers in the Netherlands, will argue that it was probably composed between October 1609 and May 1616.⁵²

The date range proposed by the Cambridge editors does admit the possibility that all three works were roughly contemporary, though the dating evidence is not watertight. Only two of the three manuscripts Bland ascribes to 1609 can be dated with certainty, and the link to *Biathanatos* must take into account the re-dating by the Oxford editors of Donne's letter to Goodere to 1610, and Shapiro's dating of the inscription to Herbert to 1611. Nevertheless,

⁴⁹ Mark Bland, 'Jonson, *Biathanatos* and the Interpretation of Manuscript Evidence', *SB*, 51 (1998), pp. 154-82. Beal's work, published in the same year and cited by Bland, does not investigate the identity of the scribe.

⁵⁰ Bland mis-cites BL, Add. MS 23,229 as Add. MS 29,293.

⁵¹ Furthermore, Bland (p. 176) argues that the paper of *Queenes* and 'Bulstrode' were 'folded as folio, rather than quarto, and cropped', and that this method of presentation was also used in the Herbert *Biathanatos*.

⁵² *The Cambridge Edition of the Works of Ben Jonson* (Cambridge, forthcoming). My thanks to Colin Burrow for allowing me advance access to this material.

Bland's time-frame – 'not ... before late 1608 (when *Biathanatos* was first written by Donne) or after November 1611 (when Donne travelled overseas)' – would accommodate a 1610 or 1611 collaboration.⁵³ Indeed, since Bland's article, more Jonson manuscripts have been identified with the watermark which suggest his focus on 1609 is 'unnecessarily restrictive'.⁵⁴ However, the paper was not exclusive to Jonson: a watermark with a similar design (though not necessarily an identical watermark) appears on a variety of documents throughout a 50-year period, including Richard Connock's verse epistle to Jonson from July 1610 (BL, Add. MS 27,407, fols. 8r-9v), Goodere's elegy to Prince Henry (SP 14/71/49B) and documents by Conway himself from as late as 1623 (WCRO, CR1886/BL/2694).⁵⁵ Furthermore (as Bland acknowledges), another Jonson manuscript 1609, *The Entertainment at Britain's Burse*, which is part-autograph, does not use this paper.

What makes Bland's case for authorship much more compelling is the resemblance of the script of *Herbert* to Jonson's own hand. W. W. Greg and Evelyn Simpson were both impressed by the similarity in their initial analyses of this manuscript, but both ultimately declared themselves unconvinced. Greg pronounced that 'certain technical distinctions make identity improbable' and Simpson, who thought there was an 'extraordinary likeness', cited 'palaeographical difficulties when a detailed comparison is made with the holograph manuscript of [*Queenes*]'; unfortunately, neither identified their precise graphical misgivings.⁵⁶ Bland cites unpublished notes that attest to the early belief of Percy Simpson (Evelyn's husband) that this was Jonson's hand.⁵⁷ On first reading, Bland's revelation represents a damaging attack on the Simpsons' final stated opinion, and even on

⁵³ Bland, p. 177.

⁵⁴ Gabriel Heaton, 'Performing Gifts', unpublished PhD diss. (Cambridge University, 2003), p. 131. Heaton cites holograph epigrams to the Earl of Salisbury, dating to around 1606 (Hatfield House, Cecil Papers, vol. 266, fols. 315-316); working notes for the 1607 *Entertainment at Merchant Taylors' Hall* (Cecil Papers, vol. 140, fol. 114; vol. 144, fols. 267, 273); and Lord North's copy of the *Theobalds* entertainment (BL, Add. MS 27,407, fols. 127-128). See also Heaton, *Reading and Writing Royal Entertainments* (Oxford, 2010), p. 159.

⁵⁵ Paper with this watermark was of course also used by people entirely unrelated to the Conways, Jonson or Donne. Watermark evidence should be used with great caution, as many marks that look identical are not. See Allan H. Stevenson, 'Watermarks are Twins', *SB*, 4 (1951-2), pp. 57-91, and Bland's *A Guide to Early Printed Books and Manuscripts* (Oxford, 2010), pp. 28, 37-8, 40-3.

⁵⁶ W. W. Greg, *English Literary Autographs 1550-1650*, 3 vols. (Oxford, 1925-32), 1.23; Evelyn Simpson, *The Prose Works of John Donne* (Oxford, 1924), p. 147.

⁵⁷ Bland, 'Jonson, *Biathanatos*', p. 174.

their academic credibility. I think that what the notes actually indicate, more benignly, is that the Simpsons initially believed the manuscript was transcribed by Jonson – and then changed their minds.

Bland notes correctly that *Queenes* is a presentation manuscript, and thus represents ‘Jonson’s hand at its most stylised and contrived’. He argues that comparison of *Herbert* to *Lowell*, on the other hand, shows that Greg and Simpson’s ‘fallacy is obvious’.⁵⁸ However, like Greg and Simpson, Bland does not support his argument with palaeographical detail. I have compared individual graphs from the original *Herbert*, *Lowell* and *Queenes* manuscripts, finding certain discrepancies, but I limit my discussion below to letter-forms shown on the photographs supplied by Bland, for ease of reference.⁵⁹ It would seem that the palaeographical evidence can be used to support both advocates and doubters of the attribution. *Lowell* and *Queenes* differ in the form of certain letters, particularly majuscule *F* and minuscule *h*, but otherwise they generally agree. *Lowell* is distinguished from *Queenes* by a left flourish on the upper headstroke of *F*, and a shaft which curls left at the bottom and loops up and right to form the lower headstroke; *Lowell*’s *h* is notable for using both an italic stem (with an upper hook to the right) and a secretary-style loop beneath the line of writing. *Herbert* matches *Queenes* in both these letter forms: both manuscripts employ an italic *h* with a hooked or looped ascender. The *F*s of *Herbert* and *Queenes* are made with three strokes. The stem in each bends to the left at the bottom, and the upper headstroke extends to the left of the stem and bends down. The lower headstroke of the *Queenes* *F* appears only on the right of the stem, whereas in *Herbert* it passes through the stem.

The principal differences between *Herbert* and the other two manuscripts occur in minuscule *y* and *p* forms. *Lowell* uses two forms of minuscule *y*, one with a simple descender that curls sharply to the left, the other with a descender which loops back through itself and extends diagonally up and to the right; the *Queenes* minuscule *y* looks like the

⁵⁸ Ibid., pp. 171, 174.

⁵⁹ Other photographic sources: *Queenes* is reproduced by Greg (*op. cit.*, 1.23), *Lowell* by P. J. Croft (*Autograph Poetry in the English Language*, 2 vols. (1973), 1.27, and *Herbert* by Beal, *Scribes*, as detailed above.

latter form. *Herbert*, on the other hand, features a minuscule *y* with a very straight diagonal descender. Similarly, while *Lowell* employs three forms of minuscule *p*, one of which matches that used in *Queenes*, *Herbert*'s *ps* are significantly different. In *Lowell* and *Queenes*, the bowl of minuscule *p* and the descender are formed with two separate strokes. A short upwards hook leads into a straight descender which finishes with an equivalent hook or curl to the left. In *Lowell*, sometimes this hook is continued into a full loop which passes through the descender and is used to join to the next letter.

Herbert, on the other hand, features two kinds of *p*, slight variants of each other, which are nevertheless significantly different from those of *Lowell* and *Queenes*. Each is made using a single application of the pen: they begin with a short, almost horizontal stroke to the right that curls up and left to form the bowl, before passing through the initial stroke and continuing down to form the descender. The descender is marked at the bottom by a sharp upwards angle to the right – not a curl to the left as in *Lowell* and *Queenes*. Sometimes this stroke is continued upwards to join to the next letter. It may be significant that the descender of *Herbert*'s minuscule *f* also lacks the short hook to the left that can be discerned in both *Lowell* and *Queenes*. Two other palaeographical differences should be noted. First, *Herbert*'s majuscule *A* lacks the long initial flourish that distinguishes it in the other two witnesses. Secondly, *Herbert*'s minuscule *k* shares a right-hooked ascender with *Lowell* and *Queenes*, but where the latter two manuscripts turn the upper limb into a bowl, *Herbert* forms both limbs as separate strokes.

Implications for the Conway–Donne exchange

The hand of the Bodleian's *Biathanatos* manuscript cannot be judged to be Jonson's beyond reasonable doubt. Furthermore, it seems extremely unlikely that Jonson, whose career at court was flourishing in the first decade of the century, would have taken the time to make a scribal copy of this very long work. Nevertheless, the existence of *Herbert* by 1611, especially in conjunction with the likely interaction with Conway, is important evidence that Donne was promoting the work himself. If *Herbert* was circulated before eventually being presented to Herbert himself, it could even be the copy that Conway saw. Whatever the status of the manuscript, Donne's 1610 letter does apparently link Donne,

Goodere and Conway in an exchange of manuscript material, and raises questions about the role of the latter two men in the early transmission of Donne's texts. Beal's analysis of the *Biathanatos* incident was partly prompted by Paul Sellin's suggestion that Donne was in fact receiving a copy of the work that Conway had returned from the Netherlands, after Donne sent it to him there.⁶⁰ Beal dismissed the idea, citing the 'inherent unlikelihood of Donne's sending a manuscript to Conway in the Netherlands'.⁶¹ While the circulation of the *Problems* in Brill allows us to challenge Beal's assertion in principle, I disagree with Sellin that the episode shows *Biathanatos* being sent to the Continent. Sellin argued that Conway was permanently stationed in the Brill, but as I have shown in Chapter 1, he was in London for at least part of 1610, when he fought at Barriers with Prince Henry.

So where does this leave the *Biathanatos* incident? There are a number of ambiguities that it might not be possible to resolve, but which raise interesting questions about the circulation of Donne's work. In Chapter 4, I suggested that Goodere was, at least during a certain period of their friendship, usually the first reader of Donne's works. Yet it appears that Conway read *Biathanatos* before Goodere. In fact, this may be the exception that proves the rule: the fact that Donne was apologetic for not sending it 'soon' suggests Goodere was used to receiving new transcripts rather promptly. However, we might still ask why, if Donne was *receiving* this text from Conway, he could not simply send that copy to Goodere – after all, if he let Conway see his unique copy, or the singular scribal copy, why not his closest friend? This might mean that, after all, Donne was *giving* the book to Conway, not picking it up (and could not therefore send it to Goodere), but I think this is less likely. After all, Donne could have sent Goodere an already-existing copy of *Lit*, but decided to wait until he could make a transcript, or have one made. So why was Conway entrusted with a copy of Donne's work? Perhaps the distinction is that Donne was able to ensure the delivery and receipt of *Biathanatos* in person; sending it to Goodere through early-modern postal channels would have been too risky.

Maybe the most noteworthy aspect of this incident is that Donne was giving literary material directly to Conway. In Chapter 4 and later in this chapter I evaluate possible routes

⁶⁰ Sellin, *So Doth*, pp. 18-20.

⁶¹ Beal, *Scribes*, p. 34.

of transmission for Donne's poems into the Conway Papers. Donne's letter raises the possibility that Donne himself was the conduit for some of the literary manuscripts in the Conway collection. It is a tantalising prospect, especially in the light of their subsequent meeting at Spa in 1612, but, having explored a large number of possible avenues, I have found little further evidence to support this claim, and it must be left in theoretical limbo until suitable documentary evidence is produced. In contrast, Goodere's presence in the Conway Papers presents a rich vein of data. The remainder of this chapter probes Goodere's role as a conduit of Donne's verse. This is not to deny the possibility of direct textual communication between Donne and Conway, or to downplay the ramifications of this connection. Rather, I argue that the Goodere manuscripts offer a chance to study a particular kind of textual circulation between a patron and client, and that this group of papers has never yet been analysed systematically in order to define this relationship. Donne and Conway may have met in 1610 and 1612, but it was in the mid-1620s that we can trace Goodere *using* Donne's papers systematically for his own ends.

Goodere's letters to Conway, 1623-5

Lodewijk Rouzee's Latin Problems were published in an important year for Conway. Following the Cleves-Jülich succession crisis of 1614, the Cautionary Towns were eventually restored to the Dutch in 1616, and Conway relinquished his post at the Brill. Seeing no future in the service of the Low Countries, Conway gave his remaining Dutch assets to Alexander Brett, a cousin of George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham.⁶² In time, Conway became the favourite's favourite and the zenith of his administrative influence was his appointment as principal Secretary of State in 1623. In 1625, the award of a £2,000 pension established him as a man of serious means. In the intervening time, Sir Henry Goodere's financial situation had worsened dramatically. Seeing in his old acquaintance a man with hugely improved political fortunes, Goodere wrote a series of letters to Conway in the mid-1620s, in the hope of securing patronage. In the following section, I investigate some of these letters as a case study, to expose the workings of an exchange between Goodere and Conway.

⁶² See Chapter 1, pp. 25.

None of the poems I loosely grouped together in Chapter 4 as ‘1613 poems’ is dated by Goodere, or accompanied by any material that indicates how the manuscripts arrived in the Conway Papers. The manuscripts to which I turn here are different: they are dated and signed, proving that Goodere was sending poetry directly to Conway, and affording insights into both his methods of written composition and approaches to potential patrons. The documents, which consist of letters and poems, allow us to draw conclusions about Goodere’s approach to writing poetry, including his efforts to amend his text, his style of presentation, and the extent to which his poetry was reliant on the writing of others. These matters become important considerations when evaluating both the early readership of Donne’s verse and the workings of manuscript publication. So many of the literary Conway Papers lack evidence of their provenance that these emerge as some of the most revealing literary items in the archive. Between them, they also help shape a narrative about Goodere’s approaches to men and women of influence, and allow us to form arguments about seventeenth-century patronage in general. The first manuscript is a working draft of a letter to a potential new patron, the Marquess of Hamilton, after Goodere had failed in an attempt to impress the Duke of Buckingham; it bears witness to Goodere’s laboured attempts to get his wording right, and evinces a poet in the process of changing patron. The second is a polished letter to Conway, entreating him to further Goodere’s cause with other noblemen. Both documents are known to Donne scholars, but neither has been examined in detail for its potential to illuminate Goodere’s role in the circulation of verse. For full transcripts, see Appendix 12.

Patronage and poetry: drafts and fair copies

SP 14/180/15-17.1, entitled ‘To the Marquis of Ham: wth the Verses of my Lo: of Buck.’, contains verse and prose in Goodere’s hand, a poem on Buckingham and two letters, composed around 1623-5 and endorsed to ‘y^e Lo: Marquis Hamilton Lo: Steward of his M^{ties} household’. The addressee was James, second Marquess of Hamilton, a favourite of the Duke of Buckingham, who had been involved in Spanish Match negotiations, but who abstained from the January 1624 Privy Council vote on the Spanish terms. Goodere acknowledges the poem as his in the accompanying note to Hamilton, which also reveals that it had been used in a previous patronage application: ‘The Duke of Buck. was the

object ... of my thoughts in these lines ... w^{ch} I now dedicate to your Lopp.’ The manuscript has been revised extensively. Indeed, it is so messy it is hard to believe that Goodere would have sent it to a potential patron, which explains why this manuscript is not among Hamilton’s papers – but not, immediately, why it is among Conway’s.

The document has been foliated in an unusual manner by the State Paper Office, reflecting its piecemeal composition. The half-sheet on which it is written measures 320mm x 204mm, and has been folded once to make four writing sides of 204mm x 160mm, each of which bears a different page number in the State Papers. The inner sides of the bifolium (foliated as 16 and 17) each contains a letter, while fol. 17.1 bears the poem. Fol. 15 was the outermost sheet when the letter was folded into a packet, and bears the address and a postscript. What complicates matters is that Goodere also turned the sheet upside-down partway through composition. As such, the order of the manuscript’s writing appears to be: fol. 17.1 (poem), fol. 17 (first letter), fol. 16 (second letter), fol. 15 (postscript and address); this is the order in which I transcribe them in the appendix. They might properly have been foliated as follows:

Fol. 17.1 – fol. 15r
 Fol. 17 – fol. 15v (upside down)
 Fol. 16 – fol. 16r (upside down)
 Fol. 15 – fol. 16v

The letters are undated but must have been written between Villiers’ creation as Duke in May 1623, and Hamilton’s death in March 1625. They contain between them two subscriptions but only one signature (‘HG’, fol. 17). My transcript shows the manuscript’s extensive revision by deletion, insertion and interlineation, changes made both *currente calamo* and after composition; despite the corrections, some mistakes still survive.

The unusual combination of contents creates uncertainty about what exactly this document represents. The manuscript seems to contain two alternative drafts of a letter to a patron, to be sent with a poem, also enclosed. Even if it only included one letter, this manuscript

would be rare as a surviving example of a letter-writer's drafts.⁶³ On fol. 17, Goodere claims he once sent his poem on Buckingham to the Duke himself. He did not receive a reply, judging from his discreet comment that Buckingham 'had never perhaps y^e leasure to macke them the object of his eyes \and some of them perhaps never came to his hand/'. The inserted clause constitutes an implicit comment on the nature of Goodere's method of transmission: when relying on a conduit to deliver verse, one could never be certain whether the missive had been received or read, unless a reply was forthcoming. Hamilton is thus openly acknowledged as a second-choice recipient.

The other letter (or alternative draft of the same letter), on fol. 16, is harder to follow, though it bears clear similarities to the first. It appears to continue another correspondence that did not have a positive outcome for Goodere. In the fair copy of this letter, if it was ever sent, Goodere enclosed more than one poem, as he speaks of 'lines written in severall times and occasions'. He had sent Hamilton the same poems before, in the (vain) hope that Hamilton would pass them on to Buckingham. He was now entreating a repetition of the favour. As on fol. 17, Goodere attempts to understand the lack of response from Buckingham, who must have received the poems (he 'hath [them,] as I sent them'), but in this letter there is no suggestion that they may have miscarried. Goodere reveals he had dined with Hamilton, and it was perhaps on that occasion that the marquess offered to petition again on Goodere's behalf. In this draft, Goodere made his intentions clear – if Buckingham was not available or keen to help, Hamilton was to have the poems forwarded directly to James: 'dispatch mee wth King ... before his iourney'.⁶⁴ Goodere openly acknowledges a ladder of patronage in operation. He needed Hamilton to intercede with Buckingham on his behalf; Buckingham was himself a conduit to the King.

⁶³ Secretarial drafts corrected by the scribe's employer are quite common, but, by virtue of their imperfect nature, drafts are rarely deemed worth keeping. Many drafts were retained by John Egerton, Earl of Bridgewater, who then filed them with the letters he received in order to preserve both sides of his correspondence: unlike Goodere's, these drafts were not sent to anyone. Shropshire Archives, Bridgewater Collection, 212/364/81, 212/364/82, 212/364/83, 212/364/87, 212/364/90. My thanks to Karen Hardman for sharing these references with me.

⁶⁴ James undertook numerous progresses between May 1623 and his death, none of which helps narrow down the date range. See John Nichols, *The Progresses, Processions, and Magnificent Festivities of King James the First*, 4 vols. (1828), 4.886-1028.

Having identified the most suitable patron, Hamilton was also to furnish some background to the petition, and Goodere had prepared him for ‘mediation’ by sending him a summary of his ‘histry’ – details of the Goodere family’s parlous financial affairs and fall from grace.⁶⁵ Goodere finishes his request by hinting at the reward for Hamilton if he bestowed his patronage on an honest servant of the king: ‘glory not only here but in heaven’. The draft letters to Hamilton offer profound visual testimony about the pains to which Goodere went to word his entreaties. He reconsiders every sentence, even amending the endorsement to be more complimentary to Hamilton: ‘For y^e right Hono:^{ble} \and truly noble/ y^e Lo: Marquis Hamilton’. SP 14/180/15-17.1 represents Goodere’s compositional process and explicitly demonstrates a would-be client’s attempts to control the future life of his application for favour.

The puzzle remains, though, as to why this manuscript is in Conway’s collection at all. The archival evidence suggests, as Beal proposes, that Conway was independently interested in James Hamilton, because he owned a scribal copy of Donne’s ‘A Hymn to the Saints, and to the Marquis of Hamilton’ (*Ham*; LP1, fols. 18-19).⁶⁶ Hamilton died on 2 March 1625, so Donne’s elegy must have been written between that date and before the death of King James on 27 March, to which he does not allude. The poem is always accompanied by a transcript of the letter with which it was originally sent, which indicates that it was written at the request of Robert Ker, later Earl of Ancram.⁶⁷ This poem was written ten years after Donne took orders and was sent to Ker reluctantly: as Donne no doubt feared, it soon circulated. Chamberlain acquired a copy the same year, telling Carleton, ‘I could wish a man of his yeares and place to geve over versifieing’ (though he did acknowledge it was ‘reasonable wittie and well don’).⁶⁸ William Drummond owned a copy of the poem by

⁶⁵ Goodere had already sent his history to Buckingham on 24 February 1619, *Sackville MSS*, no. 2451, *op. cit.*

⁶⁶ DnJ 1598, see *Index*, 1.1.248. This manuscript was first brought to scholarly attention by Baird W. Whitlock, ‘A Note on Two Donne Manuscripts’, *RN*, 18 (1965), pp. 9-11. This bifolium manuscript is carefully written in a single hand which I have not recognised elsewhere among the Conway Papers. It has been damaged at the top of fol. 18 and even more extensively on fol. 19, and text has been lost as a result. Fol. 19v does not carry an address to confirm this was sent to Conway, but the paper has been folded as if for transmission.

⁶⁷ *Variorum*, 6.222-6.

⁶⁸ *The Letters of John Chamberlain*, ed. N. E. McClure, 2 vols. (Philadelphia, PA, 1939), 2.613. Bald (*Life*, p. 466) thought it ‘almost certainly’ Donne’s last poem, though Novarr (*The Disinterred Muse: Donne’s Texts*

1627, when he presented it to the University of Edinburgh along with a copy of Donne's 'first Sermon preached to King CHARLES' (also written in 1625), and a manuscript copy of 'A Satyre'.⁶⁹ As Beal argues, Conway and Hamilton may have known each other as fellow investors in the Virginia Company.⁷⁰

Much evidence survives that Conway collected material pertaining to the Buckingham circle, and this may help explain his interest in Hamilton, who had manoeuvred into the Villiers faction. Conway certainly collected poetry about the Duke of Buckingham (and even kept a journal about his patron according to one source), so it is possible that he wanted the poem because of its links to Buckingham's milieu.⁷¹ Yet this still does not explain why a *draft* manuscript by Goodere is in the Conway Papers. Conway was acting as an intermediary for Goodere, helping him write his letter to Hamilton. Goodere, whose difficulties with writing are firmly established, sent him two drafts of a letter, and Conway had his secretaries transcribe a fair copy on his own instructions. The secretaries would also copy out the poems to be sent to Hamilton, and Conway would keep Goodere's originals.

This argument might seem slightly far fetched, were it not for the presence of another Goodere–Conway manuscript that maps on to this conjectural process almost exactly. One of the strongest arguments that Goodere sent Conway poetry directly, more than once, and so that Conway would have it sent on to other people, can be found in SP 14/145/12-12X. In contrast to the draft letter to Hamilton, this manuscript displays an application for patronage in final, polished and sent form. Goodere's 'To the true Inheritor and Paterne of all Princely Virtues Charles Prince of Wales. An Eulogie and admiration on his Jorney into Spaine' is a poem of 399 lines on Prince Charles's departure to Spain, from whence he

and *Contexts* (Ithaca, NY, 1980), p. 205) notes the Latin epigraph Donne wrote in anticipation of his own death.

⁶⁹ These are found in a 1627 catalogue, *Avctarivm Bibliothecae Edinburgenae, sive Catalogus Librorum quos Guilielmus Drummondus ab Hawthornden Bibliothecae* (Edinburgh, 1627), p. 11. The manuscripts were identified as missing in R. H. MacDonald, *The Library of Drummond of Hawthornden* (Edinburgh, 1971), p. 225. MacDonald observes that this may have been Donne's satirical contribution to Coryate's *Crudities*. The sermon survives in Edinburgh at shelfmark De.3.21. My thanks to Joseph Marshall for helping me with this enquiry.

⁷⁰ *Index*, 1.1.248.

⁷¹ See e.g. SP 14/153/114, SP 14/180/17.2, SP 16/114/68, SP 16/114/70 and 16/114/71. For the lost journal on Buckingham, see Chapter 3, pp. 122-3.

hoped to bring back a Spanish royal bride. The poem is in numerous hands, none of them Goodere's. The letter that accompanies the poem in the State Papers, which is in Goodere's hand, is dated 17 May 1623. The letter asks Conway to send *two* enclosed poems into Spain on Goodere's behalf, one to the Lord Admiral (Buckingham), and one to John Digby, first Earl of Bristol. The geographical scope of Goodere's literary manuscript circulation was thus continental – as I have argued it was since 1603 or earlier. Goodere was aware of Buckingham's imminent return to England, and asked Conway to judge where best to have the letter sent. As in his draft letter to Hamilton, Goodere attempted to steer the course of his application while allowing his intermediary to make decisions in the case of ambiguity.

Goodere begins his letter with 'confidence' of Conway's favour, indicating both prior communication and an existing, meaningful relationship between them. Indeed, Goodere reminds Conway of a recent letter, probably sent in the first few days of May 1623, and delivered by 'S^r H. Leigh'.⁷² Conway had not yet replied to this letter, but Goodere knew he was running out of time to secure Conway's favour in his next intended objective – to send a poem about Prince Charles and the potential benefits of accord with Spain to Buckingham and Bristol. Goodere states that he sent Conway two letter-packets to be delivered, one for Buckingham and one for Bristol, and that each packet contained a copy of his poem: 'There is inclosed both in the one and y^e other a short Admiration of myne (in verse) vpon y^e Prince his iourney'.⁷³ That Goodere qualifies his use of the word by explaining it was 'in verse' implies that he was using it to mean 'an expression of admiration', and that the

⁷² W. A. Shaw's *Knights of England*, 2 vols. (1971), lists six possible candidates for identification with this man, reproduced here with year of knighthood and place of residence where known: Henry Leigh, 1603; Henry Legh/Lee, 1607, of Co. Middl.; Henry Lee/Leigh, 1611; Henry Lee, 1614, of Quarendon, Bucks; Henry Ley/Leigh, 1617, of Cheshire; Henry Lee, 1618. The elder Sir Henry Goodere joined forces with a 'S^r Henry Lee' in November 1593 in order to petition Lord Burghley about one Edward Field, who had run into serious financial difficulty (BL, Lansdowne MS 75, fols. 140-141). The Leighs/Lees and the Gooderes were therefore probably family friends. There are no Conways in the index to E. K. Chambers's life of Sir Henry Lee (1533-1611), Elizabeth I's champion, who is the only man of this name recorded by P. W. Hasler, and whose cousin, who had the same name, is the fourth man in the list above. Chambers, *Sir Henry Lee: An Elizabethan Portrait* (Oxford, 1936).

⁷³ Goodere's use of the word 'Admiration' is interesting: as a noun it is defined only as 'The action of wondering or marvelling; wonder, astonishment, surprise' (*OED*, 1); use of the word to mean a kind of poem or literary work is not recorded in the *OED*. The phrase 'an admiration' is not recorded in *LION*; of 91 hits (in 73 books, 1580-1630) on *EEBO*, there are numerous nuances of meaning among the results, but they can perhaps best be summarised as meaning 'a moment of admiration' and none refers to a genre of literary work. A prose tract published in 1642 is called *An Admiration*, but it is not literary.

notion of an ‘admiration in verse’ was not common. (Perhaps he was adapting Donne’s c.1610 formulation: ‘a meditation in verse, which I call a Litany’.⁷⁴)

Goodere states that he would have sent Conway a third transcript of the poem for his personal perusal, but that he was prevented on this occasion by ‘extreeme hast’. This comment suggests Goodere’s usual practice: he would send literature to Conway, via men like Leigh, in order that Conway would pass it on to men like Buckingham, Bristol and Charles. As thanks for his part in the transaction Conway would receive a duplicate copy of the poem in question, prepared by Goodere. Furthermore, Conway was no passive recipient, and had evidently read his client’s poetry before. Goodere’s letter shows he was used to receiving comments from Conway in return:

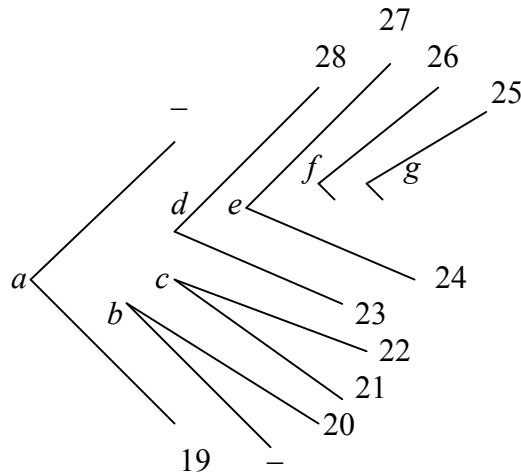
I would fayne have yo^r Ho: ... a censurer [i.e. judge, critic] of my imperfections, w^{ch} (I have experience) cannot deminish mee wth your Ho:

These comments may have been literary-critical in nature, or perhaps they addressed questions of religion or politics. As I will show, Goodere was not always adept at judging for himself the appropriateness of his opinions. The passage is also important because the records pertaining to the elder Edward Conway are usually silent about his reading habits. The second Viscount regularly commented on the works he had read, but his father’s critical responses have been lost. Goodere’s letter is useful evidence that he not only translated and collected poetry, but analysed it.

In his letter, Goodere talks of two poems, yet only one can be found here, and I have identified no letters to Buckingham or Bristol that might have accompanied it. I believe that the existing poem is a copy that Conway had made for himself before sending on the original enclosures. The poem, foliated in the State Papers as item 12X, is a booklet of 24 pages, in five different hands, none of them Goodere’s. Each writing page measures approximately 192mm x 150mm, but the booklet is made up of seven pieces of paper of different sizes, bound with thread. Some of the pages were stamped by the Public Record Office before a later refoliation and these stamps are useful for understanding the

⁷⁴ *Letters*, p. 32. For more on Goodere’s borrowings see below and Appendix 10.

document's layout. The diagram below shows how the booklet was assembled from different half- and quarter-sheets of paper (*a–g*, my designation), and how each page was stamped (‘–’ indicates no stamp):



The five scribal hands include one italic script and four different scripts that use a mix of secretary and italic forms. They are distributed as follows:

Hand 1: Half-sheet *a*, mixed secretary and italic.

Hand 2: Half-sheets *b* and *d*, mixed secretary and italic.

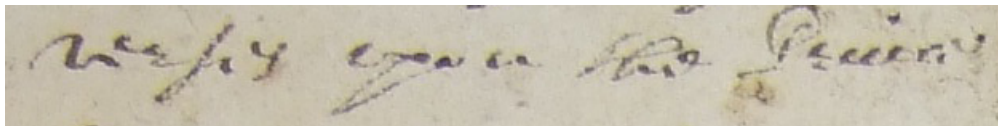
Hand 3: Half-sheet *c*, italic.

Hand 4: Half-sheet *e*, mixed secretary and italic.

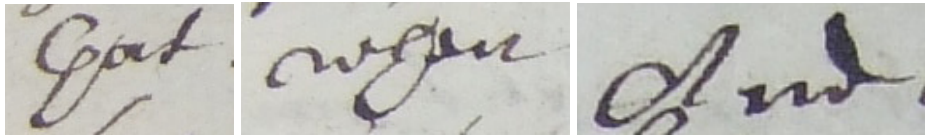
Hand 5: Quarter-sheets *f* and *g*, mixed secretary and italic.

The second folio of half-sheet *a*, which is the last page of the booklet and is not stamped, bears the endorsement on its verso, a faded note written for storage purposes, which does not correspond to any of the hands within:

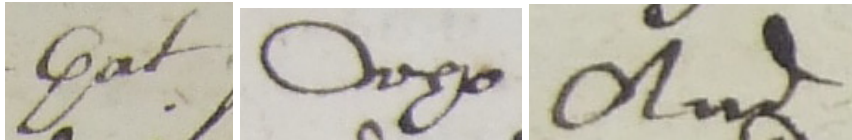
Hand 1



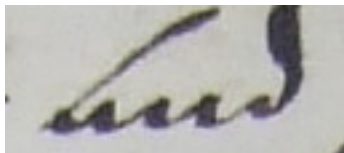
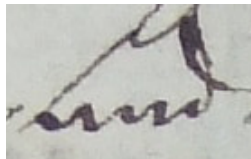
A second hand wrote sheet *b*, fol. 20r-v and seems to have been responsible for two different scripts. This is the first:

Hand 2

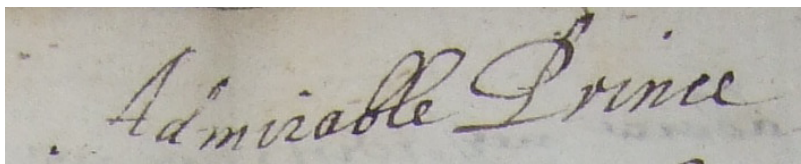
This mixed script is notable for its secretary *h*, the initial loops on minuscule *w* and majuscule *A*, the lack of medial stroke in majuscule *A*, and the disparity between initial and terminal *ts* in ‘that’. This hand was also responsible for the mixed script on sheet *d* (fols. 23 and 28):

Hand 2

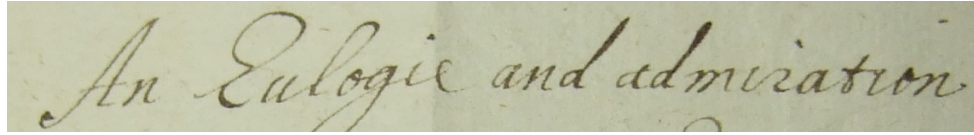
The initial loop of minuscule *w* is slightly different in these examples, but the other letters are almost identical. To furnish a further similarity, one may point to the long diagonal stroke that initiates the minuscule *a* on words such as ‘and’:

Hand 2(sheet *b*)(sheet *d*)

Hand 2 also produced a large italic script on fol. 20r:

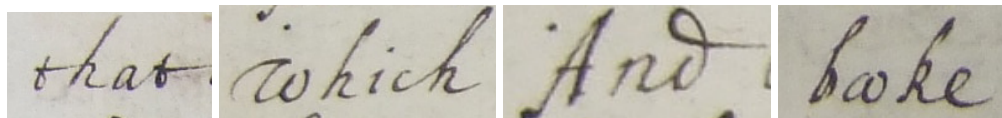
Hand 2

This enables us to identify it as the hand that wrote the poem’s title on sheet *b*, fol. –v:

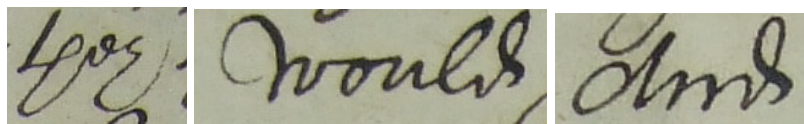
Hand 2

The majuscule *A*, the *ir* ligature, and minuscule *l*, *e*, *a*, *d* and *n* forms all bear comparison with the formation of 'Admirable Prince'. The scribe of sheet *b* predominantly used a secretary script, therefore, but adopted a large italic for titles.

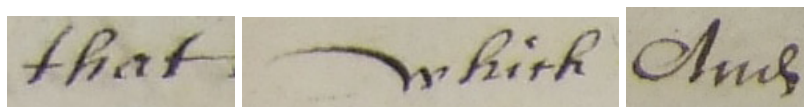
Hand 3, responsible for sheet *c* (fols. 21 and 22), is entirely italic, and notable for short shafts on minuscule *ts* which loop up to begin the headstroke, a sharply looping *d* ascender, and a biting ligature between double *os*:

Hand 3

Italic Hand 3 is followed by two different mixed hands. The first, Hand 4, on sheet *e* (fols. 24 and 27), uses a secretary *h*, *ts* with very low headstrokes, distinctively shaped *ds* with non-biting bowls and terminal flourishes at the end of looped ascenders, and no medial stroke in majuscule *A*:

Hand 4

Hand 5, on half-sheets *f* and *g* (fols. 25 and 26), uses an italic *h* with a looping ascender, but a secretary *c*; the first minim of its initial *ws* is notably extended. Majuscule *A* usually lacks a medial stroke:

Hand 5

The hand distribution matches the use of paper, as shown above, and the line distribution is largely regular:

fols. 21r-22v, 28 lines
 fols. 23r-25r, 26 lines
 fols. 25v-27r, 28 lines
 fol. 27v, 29 lines
 fol. 28r, 20 lines.

The odd number on fol. 27v is caused by a triple rhyme; there are also catchwords on fols. 25r and 26r, contemporary foliation (1-5), Goodere's name transcribed at the bottom of fol. 28r, and an address, none of which I have counted above. The poem is 399 lines, but the manuscript contains 413 lines of writing. There is no apparent pattern between scribe and number of lines per page, and pages with 26 lines retain wide upper and lower margins, and could easily have accommodated two more lines if consistency had been required. This suggests that the poem was copied faithfully from its original, and that individual scribal preference did not affect the layout. It seems that one of Goodere's original copies, also a quired booklet, and probably autograph, was split into its component sheets, and distributed to four different scribes, each of whom copied a section. The new pages were then bound together in the correct order, stitched and numbered (though two pages were accidentally numbered '7'); Hand 1 then supplied an endorsement. This speculation is confirmed by palaeographical analysis: I have identified all four principal hands transcribing official letters from Conway between 1623 and 1625.⁷⁵

Wit versus judgment: the politics of circulation

Goodere's poem was occasioned by Prince Charles's voyage into Spain in 1623, during which he attempted to bring back the Spanish Infanta Maria Anna as his bride.⁷⁶ James's

⁷⁵ Hand 2, despite some discrepancies, can be identified in one of Conway's secretarial letter-books, SP 14/214; the style Hand 2 used for titles is also employed in this document, for example at fol. 2 (minuscule *d* is particularly distinctive). For Hand 3 see e.g. SP 14/143/47 (22 April 1623), for Hand 4 see e.g. SP 14/143/21 ([19 April] 1623), and for Hand 5 see e.g. SP 14/143/31 (20 April 1623). Hand 1 does not provide a large enough sample size for comparison. Several of these hands can also be found in BL, Add. MS 70,001. None of these hands can be linked to a name – known letters by William Chesterman and William Weld, Conway's principal secretaries, do not employ these hands.

⁷⁶ My necessarily brief summary of this complex international crisis is derived primarily from Glyn Redworth, *The Prince and the Infanta* (New Haven, CT, and London, 2003), with the further consultation of L. M. Baker (ed.), *The Letters of Elizabeth Queen of Bohemia*, with an introduction by C. V. Wedgwood

son-in-law, Frederick of Bohemia, had been crowned Holy Roman Emperor in 1618, head of the loosely united states of what is now Germany. His appointment made the region overwhelmingly Protestant, a situation that triggered violent protest from Catholic leaders in central Europe, who were supported militarily by Spain's Catholic Habsberg rulers. Ultimately, as a result of the ensuing conflict, Frederick and Elizabeth, the Winter King and Queen, were forcefully ejected from Bohemia in 1621. Because James's daughter had married Frederick in 1613, in the build-up to the war, England was seen as a natural ally of the European Protestant states. Attempting to diffuse the threat posed by this impending war to northern Europe's peace – and to neutralise an English Parliament agitating for war with Spain – James considered marrying his son and heir to a Spanish princess. John Digby, later the Earl of Bristol, was sent to Spain to discuss terms, but the negotiations stalled. At this point, Charles came up with the daring but ill-judged plan to leave England in secret and travel in disguise to Spain with Buckingham as his only companion, returning with his bride. Canny public figures began preparing for life under Spanish rule: even Donne himself wrote to Buckingham to suggest his deep reading in writers from that country, and some of the Spanish material in the Conway Papers can be dated to 1623, suggesting that Conway too was brushing up on his knowledge of the Spanish court.⁷⁷ Conway's translation of Diego de Mendoza's 'Amable Soledad' (B11, fols. 74r-75r) is numbered '12', so he may have been preparing a series of Spanish poems in English, perhaps for Charles himself, who began taking Spanish lessons in 1622. Goodere's poem was written in a similar spirit: assuming the certainty of Charles's triumphant return, he set out to be among the first to praise the Prince.

Considering its unusual bibliographical composition, and the amount of evidence it presents about his method of approaching patrons, Goodere's manuscript is already remarkable. What makes it truly extraordinary is the fact that he also sent a holograph copy

(1953); Thomas Cogswell, 'England and the Spanish Match', in *Conflict in Early Stuart England*, eds. R. P. Cust and A. Hughes (1989); Carola Oman, *Elizabeth of Bohemia*, rev. edn. (1964); Alexander Samson (ed.), *The Spanish Match* (Aldershot, 2006). For more on Conway's connection to the Spanish Match and *A Game at Chess*, see Chapter 2, pp. 63-75.

⁷⁷ Donne wrote to Buckingham in Spain: 'I can thus far make myselfe believe, that I ame where yor Lordship is, in Spaine, that, in my poore Library, where indeed I ame, I can turne mine Ey towards no shelve, in any profession from the Mistresse of my youth, Poetry, to the wyfe of mine age, Divinity, but that I meet more Autors of that nation, than of any other' (Bod., MS Tanner 73, fol. 305r).

to the Queen of Bohemia herself. Given her recent international humiliation, the destruction of her people and the physical danger she faced personally, the gift of a poem extolling the restraint of the Spanish and the benefits of religious toleration was somewhat misjudged. Her copy of the poem does not apparently survive, but the faux pas was noted by Carleton in July 1623:

I hear of a new pretender for the provostship of Eton: Sir Henry Goodier, who to show his abilities hath made a long elegy in English upon the prince's journey into Spain, as if the place were to be won with a song. Howsoever his wit appears therein I cannot much praise his judgement in sending it to the queen of Bohemia (as he hath done transcribed by his own hand), since he therein commends the Spaniards for having effected so much in the Diet at Ratisbon.⁷⁸

This is the only known evidence that Goodere was applying to be Provost of Eton – a post that the vastly more qualified Sir Henry Wotton was to receive – but it is not the only evidence that he had bungled.⁷⁹ Sending the poem to Elizabeth at all was tactless; believing that an administrative post could be ‘won with a song’ was naïve. There is even a hint in Carleton’s words that Goodere’s approach in his own autograph, instead of through a scribal presentation copy, was inappropriate, and that writing in English was an ill-advised decision.

More importantly, Goodere had also completely miscalculated the outcome of the Spanish Match: the Spanish had no intention of marrying the Infanta to Charles unless he converted to Catholicism, and the Prince consequently returned empty-handed. This was a hugely popular outcome in England, and bonfires were lit around the country in relieved celebration – even the Duke of Buckingham, Charles’s chaperone, enjoyed a brief spell of adulation among the populace, who usually detested him.⁸⁰ However, the failure of the

⁷⁸ Dudley Carleton to John Chamberlain, The Hague, 11 July 1623 (SP 84/113, fols. 28-32), as printed in Maurice Lee, Jr. ed., *Dudley Carleton to John Chamberlain 1603-1624: Jacobean Letters* (New Brunswick, NJ, 1972): pp. 305-306. Nadine Akkerman has not located the poem among Elizabeth’s papers (private communication). The Diet of Ratisbon (also known as Regensburg, and referred to by Goodere with this name) was an assembly that took place in 1541 to discuss the spread of Lutheran doctrines. *Catholic Encyclopedia*, www.newadvent.org/cathen/12657a.htm (accessed 3 October 2010).

⁷⁹ There is no mention of Goodere in surviving records at Eton. My thanks to Penny Hatfield and Rachel Bond for answering my enquiries.

⁸⁰ Joshua Eckhardt, *Manuscript Verse Collectors* (Oxford, 2009), pp. 129-30. Cf. Thomas Cogswell, ‘Thomas Middleton and the Court, 1624: “A Game at Chess” in Context’, *HLQ*, 47 (1984), pp. 273-88, at pp. 278-9.

Spanish Match led almost directly to increased hostilities across northern Europe; ideas of religious tolerance were swept aside and anyone wishing to ally themselves with the Prince and Buckingham ought to have been agitating for war with Spain rather than peaceful amity. Goodere became aware of this fact excruciatingly quickly – his poem, ‘Congratulation [*sic*] to the Prince, newly returned from Spain’ (SP 14/153/112) is now in the Conway Papers, having been despatched, presumably, hot on the tail of the ‘Admiration’. Unable to contradict his recent, very detailed poem extolling the marriage, Goodere simply gave thanks for the Prince’s safe arrival into England, adding rather weakly that in terms of policy, the populace ‘reioyce implicitey to rest / on this beleefe, what you shall doe, is best’. The fact that the manuscript features numerous corrections, including whole sections deleted, suggests that it was again sent via Conway on the understanding that Conway’s secretaries would transcribe a fair copy.

Goodere’s application to be Provost of Eton, deemed inappropriate by his contemporaries, is nevertheless highly instructive about his place in the wider system of patronage. Linda Levy Peck describes the competing claims for this position in 1623, after the death of Thomas Murray. She does not name Goodere as one of the applicants, but her account implies that in many ways Goodere’s was a classic application for patronage. This immediately raises the broader questions, what is patronage and how was it understood in the early seventeenth century? These are not questions that can be dealt with here in their entirety, but the study of Goodere’s manuscripts in the Conway Papers might provide new insights into the workings of patronage – insofar as patronage can be understood as a unitary concept. By examining the life of Donne’s poems once they had passed into Goodere’s hands, we can discern the latter’s attitudes towards patronage, and contrast them against the available evidence for Donne’s attitudes.

Patronage, brokerage and the alchemy of manuscript transmission

Writing in 1612, Sir Arthur Chichester defined the workings of a commonwealth as ‘nothing more than a commercement or continual suppeditation of benefits mutually

received and done between men.’⁸¹ His words embody a Senecan outlook whose increasing popularity is attested to by the publication of ‘On Benefits’ in Thomas Lodge’s translation of 1614.⁸² As Linda Levy Peck and others have demonstrated in detail, ‘benefits’ from a patron could include the granting of position, protection from enemies or detractors, or direct financial reward. The term ‘patronage’ originated within the Christian church, signifying a senior clergyman’s right to present another to a benefice (*OED*, *n.1*), and the word can still imply rights to appoint someone to an office (5). ‘Patronage’ also carries implications of protection (2b, 2d), support or advocacy (2c), favour (2f) and guardianship (3), but it is the *OED*’s definition 2a that most broadly informs my usage of the word in this chapter: ‘using money or influence to advance the interests of a person, cause, art, etc.’. The potential benefit a client offered was to join the ranks of a superior courtier’s followers, giving loyal support as necessary, performing administrative favours and helping to advance the patron’s other clients. (The model does not exclude approaches and loyalty to multiple patrons.) In this manner, a patron established a network of men (and women) whose support allowed him (or her) to wield power at Court. Each individual benefited from this loosely defined community as the social capital inherent in their loyalty was transferred to the patron, who could then use the collective power to act more forcefully on any individual’s behalf – as well as furthering his or her own prospects. This kind of diffuse exchange of benefits can sometimes be hard to discern, but individual relations can be established to some extent through the exchange of gifts.

The giving of gifts to potential patrons in early modern European cultures did not operate in a linear fashion like a financial transaction, although economic metaphors are not entirely inappropriate. Rather, gift exchange created a bond of obligation between giver and receiver: as Marcel Mauss explains, ‘the gift necessarily entails the notion of credit’.⁸³ Early-modern patrons, modelling their actions on the monarch, were expected to be liberal, for liberality and magnificence were virtues that enhanced the authority of the giver. King

⁸¹ ‘Letterbook of Sir Arthur Chichester, 1612-1614’, *Analecta Hibernica*, no. 8, p. 56, Chichester to George Abbot, Archbishop of Canterbury, 23 October 1612. Quoted in Linda Levy Peck, *Court Patronage and Corruption* (1990), p. 13. *OED*, ‘suppeditation’, *n.*, ‘The action of supplying what is needful; supply ... service, usefulness’.

⁸² *The workes of Lucius Annaeus Seneca, both morrall and naturall Translated by Tho. Lodge, D. in Physicke* (1614).

⁸³ Marcel Mauss, *The Gift*, trans. W. D. Halls (1990), p. 36.

James himself, in *Basilikon Doron* (1597), figured court patronage as a kind of social adhesive, binding the nobility to the king; by extension, patrons built their own bases of power by establishing relations of mutual obligation.⁸⁴ When Goodere sent his poem about Buckingham to Hamilton, for example, he did not flatter Hamilton directly, as the original verses had done Buckingham: rather, the re-addressed poem flattered Hamilton's pretensions to learning and good taste, and he became a 'noble ... witnesse' to Goodere's praise of their joint patron. Goodere thus situated himself within the wider patronage network and subtly reminded Hamilton of his communal obligations.

Like many of his contemporaries, Goodere, who seems to have enjoyed several close friendships as we normally understand the term today (*OED*, 'friend', 1a), knew that he needed a different kind of friend in his professional life, an influential person who could provide a social inferior with assistance in return for other favours (5a and 5c). Mauss called this notion of support-exchange 'profitable alliance', and Alison Scott has developed the idea with regards to seventeenth-century patronage relationships.⁸⁵ Scott has argued for

the importance of the gift in the perpetuation of social bonds and reciprocal exchange, undermining a simple hierarchy and promoting a more complicated 'profitable alliance' between patron and client. Though it demanded to be reciprocated or, as Derrida terms it – 'annulled' – the patronage gift relied both on maintaining the illusion that it was freely offered and on its function as a symbolic currency within a highly codified and political system of exchange.⁸⁶

Scott's insistence on the illusory nature of patronage gift exchanges is particularly pertinent to the early seventeenth century, because by this time the essential nature of gift transactions had altered fundamentally, as Lorna Hutson has argued persuasively. One of Hutson's central theses is that the spread of humanist discourse 'relocate[d] the instrumentality [i.e. agency] of male friendship, translating it from alliance and gift-exchange to persuasive communication.'⁸⁷ As evidence, she quotes Erasmus's letter to his friend and editor, Peter Gilles:

⁸⁴ Peck, *Court Patronage*, pp. 13-14.

⁸⁵ Mauss, *Gift*, p. 73.

⁸⁶ Alison V. Scott, *Selfish Gifts* (Madison, NJ, 2006), p. 138.

⁸⁷ Lorna Hutson, *The Usurer's Daughter* (1994), p. 11.

Friends of the commonplace and homespun sort, my open-hearted Pieter, have their idea of relationship ... attached to material things; and if they ever have to face a separation, they favour a frequent exchange of rings, knives, caps and other tokens of the kind ... But you and I, whose idea of friendship rests wholly in a meeting of minds and the enjoyment of studies in common, might well greet one another from time to time with presents for the mind and keepsakes of a literary description.⁸⁸

Erasmus contrasts a material, external display of friendship against the establishment of an internal, mental union based on shared thoughts and values. Crucially, his conception of friendship does not preclude gift exchange; rather, it insists that the object given should be a physical expression of an intellectual bond.

It is telling that Erasmus should specify 'keepsakes of a literary description' because the gift of a manuscript poem conveniently borders the two ideas he opposes. As a physical transaction of property it establishes a bond of fealty in the traditional manner, but as a transmitter of thoughts, desires, opinions and news, it also represents an intellectual interaction that subtly allies giver and receiver within a privileged network of communication. For a client writing to a patron, the exchange of literary manuscripts allowed the Senecan economies of the patronage system to operate discreetly in the rhetorical garb of Erasmian amity. Literary manuscripts thus maintain the illusion of financial disinterest described by Scott. Alan Bray, who also interrogates Erasmus's letter to Gilles within a broader analysis of friendship, arrives at the same conclusion: 'a friendship sealed by the exchange of *literary* gifts [signified] a meeting not of bodies but of minds.' 'The obligations of friendship' Bray explains, 'could be irksome and resented and the moment and manner of their calling dangerous'; the 'stance of a generous altruism, of an inward affectionate friend' – which the exchange of literary material helped foster – 'was a tactful rhetoric that helped to negotiate those dangers, a language in which the hard facts of friendship could be spoken.'⁸⁹ Bray highlights friendships that were *published* – held up to public scrutiny – in some way, for example through manuscript circulation of letters beyond the original correspondents. He argues, for example, that Sidney's 'Pastorall' was used by Greville and Dyer as social capital, evidence that Sidney was their benefactor,

⁸⁸ Desiderius Erasmus, *Parabolae sive Similia*, trans. R. A. B. Mynors, in *The Collected Works of Erasmus*, vol. 23, ed. Craig R. Thompson (Toronto, 1978), p. 131. Quoted in Hutson, p. 4.

⁸⁹ Alan Bray, *The Friend* (Chicago, IL, and London, 2003), pp. 160, 110, 76.

and would vouch for them. But Bray's reliance on public friendships leads him to posit 'ideals of friendship' without allowing that these ideals may have found genuine expression in private relationships. Building on the theories of Hutson and Bray, I would argue that this illusion is itself dependent on the existence of a prior, genuine interaction between disinterested friends, from which the patronage gift borrows its disingenuous power.

Nevertheless, friendship itself can be codified in the language of business. When Donne sent Goodere manuscript copies of his poems, he accompanied them with letters that identified the verses as vouchers of the two men's amity, repayments for friendship given, which in turn demanded continued tokens of love. In this manner, Donne and Goodere embraced the economy of obligation as a means of encoding the loftier values of their relationship – 'friendship as a type of spiritual union', in Ronald Corthell's words.⁹⁰ It is Goodere's subsequent interactions with Conway that bring the metaphor of the market to life, and help illustrate the alchemy of manuscript transmission – the process by which the social significance of texts changed as they circulated. As Donne's manuscript poems passed through Goodere's ownership they were transformed from tokens of friendship given by Donne to Goodere, into implicit requests for assistance from Goodere to a social superior, balancing favours already done and making a down-payment for future generosity.

We can locate an analogue for this process in Goodere's selective appropriation of Donne's words in his own writing (as opposed to his transcriptions of whole poems). In Appendix 10, I have compiled all currently identified passages in Goodere's poetry and prose that appear to have been copied from Donne; there were almost certainly others. Donne seems

⁹⁰ Ronald J. Corthell, 'Friendships Sacraments', p. 417. Cf. in *Letters*: 'my second religion, friendship' (p. 85); 'friendship ... hath in it ... divinity' (p. 116); 'there is a Religion in friendship', 'so spirituall a thing as friendship' (p. 245). A number of passages from *Letters* attest to Donne's use of the language of financial obligation when writing to Goodere: 'I make short payment of this duty of Letters ... to pay those debts' (p. 66); 'I owed you a Letter in verse ... you have hedged in that debt by a greater by your Letter ... To make my debt greater ... I pray read these two problemes' (pp. 87-8); '[by entreating me to send you letters/poems] you give me means to pay some of my debts to you: the interest of which I pay in all my prayers for you' (p. 194); 'I owe you a continuall tribute of Letters' (p. 206); the talk of 'retribution', 'bankrupts' and 'a great debt' being paid 'by small summes weekly' (p. 247); 'It is one ill Affection of a desperate debtor, that he dares not come to an account, nor take knowledge how much he owes; this makes me that I dare not tell you how manie letters I have received from you since I came to this Towne' (p. 253). Cf. a letter to Gerrard, p. 286: 'In payment of that debt, I send out this Letter'.

to have been aware that Goodere used his material, and even wrote at least one letter specifically for his friend.⁹¹ However, in excerpting passages for his own use, Goodere changed their essential nature. Spoken or written by Donne, his words convey a specific meaning to his intended recipient; excerpted and redeployed by Goodere as his own, their meaning becomes something altogether different. In a similar fashion, the copying and further circulation of Donne's poems removes them bibliographically from their original 'coterie' context (so-called), usually identified by privacy and exclusivity, and transposes them to the gift economy. Conway seems to have acknowledged the papers as appropriate gifts, given his later support of Goodere, but this does not explain why Conway might have thought of literary manuscripts as things of value. In fact, Conway appears to have been reading some of these works with his own specific agenda, which again alters the ontological nature of the documents.

James Knowles has investigated Conway's ownership of Ben Jonson's 1609 masque *The Entertainment at the Opening of Britain's Burse* (also known as *The Key-Keeper*, SP 14/44/62*); this manuscript is one of several Jonson works in the Conway archive, another of which, *An Entertainment of the King and Queen at Theobalds* (SP 9/51/41-2), is in Goodere's hand. (The latter was first performed in 1607, further suggestive evidence that Goodere was sending literary material to Conway in the Brill in the early seventeenth century.) Knowles argues that Conway's acquisition of *Burse* was an act of political intelligence-gathering or, to change his formulation slightly, cultural autodidacticism: in this interpretation, Conway was reading Jonson's dramatic work in order to improve his knowledge of current affairs.⁹² Other Conway Papers material tends to corroborate this view: the anonymous 'Running Masque' (B11, fols. 3r-8r), for example, performed by thirteen important courtiers sometime between 1619 and 1621, including Buckingham, or the two other Court masques by Jonson (*Theobalds*, and extracts from the *Masque of Gipsies Metamorphosed* of 1621, SP 14/122/58). Once he became Secretary of State and part of the establishment, obtaining such material was relatively straightforward, but before

⁹¹ *Letters*, pp. 267-9, addressed 'To the Honourable Knight Sir Henry Goodere' but referring to the recipient as 'your Lordship', a title Goodere never held. On 20 December 1614, Donne specifically asked Goodere if he had 'by any occasion applied any pieces', i.e. extracts, from one of Donne's poems '*A nostre Countesse chez vous*'. *Letters*, pp. 197-8.

⁹² For Grace Ioppolo's contrasting opinion, see Chapter 2, p. 73.

his permanent return to England in 1616 Conway needed constant information about factions and favourites at court. His approaches to Prince Henry in the early 1610s (and Essex in the 1590s) are evidence of his long-distance ambition at work, and the newsletters he commissioned from England and elsewhere attest to his need to acquire information. As I argued in Chapter 4, the political turmoil of 1613 would have been a particularly anxious time for seekers of patronage, especially those kept from court like Conway. The need to discern the relationship between patronage and manuscript circulation thus becomes particularly important.

Manuscripts and multiple patrons

Manuscript transmission is not a fixed medium but a flexible one. Patronage, too, is not a monolithic concept, and ‘the patronage system’ should not be viewed in an over-restrictive manner. Patrons could die (like Prince Henry, Salisbury) or fall from favour (Essex, Somerset) – or the method for seeking patronage could itself alter. Indeed, by the 1620s the social structures through which a courtier found employment had become enormously top-heavy. Buckingham, first introduced to court in order to counter-balance the Howard faction, had by this time established his predominance over most administrative appointments.⁹³ As chief Secretary of State, Conway occupied a high rung on the ladder of patronage, but his role was still essentially that of a middle-man. As Scott explains:

Where patrons had previously operated as social superiors to their clients, and with a great deal of personal autonomy, they were now forced to court the favor of more powerful individuals themselves in order to assure their fortunes and those of their respective clients.⁹⁴

Consequently, clients frequently approached multiple patron-brokers when putting forward suits. Goodere’s ‘Admiration’, sent to Buckingham, Bristol and Elizabeth of Bohemia, as well as Conway himself, is just one example of such circumspect clientage, even among the other applicants for the provostship of Eton.

⁹³ Peck, *Court Patronage*, p. 52.

⁹⁴ Scott, p. 127.

Francis Bacon, recently disgraced in a corruption scandal, was another Eton contender who attempted to advance his candidacy through Conway. He sent him a manuscript treatise on usury (SP 14/140/60), which was separated from the State Papers until the re-incorporation of the Conway Papers.⁹⁵ Bacon's approach to Conway is instructive. Writing to Buckingham, and believing that his case stood some chance (it did not), he elaborated on Conway's role in the process:

I find, I thank God, some glimmering of the King's favour, which your Lordship's noble work of my access no doubt did chiefly cherish. I am much bound to Mr. Secretary Conway ... for I had no acquaintance with [the King] in the world.⁹⁶

Bacon's dilemma, that he was exiled from court and thus severed from direct contact with the truly powerful, illustrates one important manifestation of patronage: brokering other patronage relationships. As Peck argues, with the ascendancy of Buckingham, any idea of competing patronage factions largely dissolved; tellingly, the Eton decision was deferred because Buckingham was out of the country, and thus unable to announce his favoured candidate.⁹⁷ With just one man in control of virtually all major appointments at court, patronage seekers essentially encountered a ladder of brokerage, with men on the lower rungs – like Goodere and, after his disgrace, Bacon – using mediators like Conway to reach the top.

The dedication of literary works to more than one patron was not a new phenomenon, but was arguably stimulated by the rise of Buckingham and his influence on the courts of James and Charles. Especially once titles and administrative positions began to be sold openly for cash, any illusion that patronage was based on disinterested honour necessarily collapsed. As Peck has identified, 'when the free gift granted by an all-powerful monarch became transformed into a contract to buy and sell, such market-place negotiations undermined the central meaning of court patronage.'⁹⁸ Following a similar line of argument, Arthur Marotti has proposed that, in the realm of print, the increase of

⁹⁵ It was originally enclosed in SP 14/142/12 (2 April 1623). See Francis Bacon, *The Works*, eds. James Spedding, Robert Leslie Ellis, and Douglas Denon Heath, 14 vols. (1874), 14.399-421.

⁹⁶ Bacon, *Works*, 14.413.

⁹⁷ Peck and others have argued that the notion of factionalism in this period has been overstated in the past. See e.g. *Court Patronage*, p. 74.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 20.

‘multiplied dedications’ in books from this period signified ‘the breakdown of the old system of artistic clientage.’⁹⁹ Scott develops Marotti’s contention by drawing attention to the contemporaneous emergence of the market economy in Britain:

As texts came to be printed, they were literally multiplied and their exclusivity could no longer be the key to their value – in fact, in direct opposition to the value system of manuscript culture, the value of texts gradually became governed by the size of their circulation.¹⁰⁰

Here, perhaps, we may find a clue to the enduring popularity of manuscript publication, long after print had become a mainstream medium. As Woudhuysen observes, manuscript circulation ‘had the ... advantage of allowing authors and scribes precisely the audience they wanted to address’.¹⁰¹

I have shown in the case of Goodere that manuscript was a particularly flexible form, open to appropriation and alteration by scribes who wished to personalise texts they already owned. One striking example of manuscript flexibility is the Hatton manuscript of Samuel Daniel’s *Epistle to the Lady Margaret, Countess of Cumberland*. As Arthur Freeman has shown, this features an original dedicatory title to Lady Cumberland which was repeatedly struck-through until illegible; the manuscript was then re-dedicated to Lady Elizabeth Hatton.¹⁰² Daniel evidently felt few qualms about sending this obviously redirected poem. When Goodere sent personalised manuscripts to a range of patrons, simultaneously at times, and with no apparent sense of anxiety about duplicating his applications for patronage, his behaviour reflected standard practice. Similarly, asking Conway to intercede on his behalf, and even to improve his application, was by no means unusual.¹⁰³

Sir Henry Goodere, often cited in relation to the study of John Donne but rarely studied in his own right, emerges from my analysis as an uniquely informative source for literary historians about the workings of patronage in the seventeenth century. Goodere had

⁹⁹ Arthur Marotti, ‘Patronage, Poetry, and Print’, *YES*, 21 (1991), pp. 1-26, at p. 25.

¹⁰⁰ Scott, p. 146.

¹⁰¹ Woudhuysen, *Sir Philip Sidney*, p. 12.

¹⁰² Arthur Freeman, ‘An Epistle for Two’, *Library*, 5th ser., 25 (1970), pp. 226-36.

¹⁰³ Cf. SP 16/521/164, Thomas, Lord Cromwell, to Secretary Conway, 8 September 1625: ‘My Lord. This enclosed I send unsealed, because if you think not fit for me to write so plainly to the Duke, that then you would not deliver it, but keep it till I come.’

unprecedented access to Donne's literary texts, and he was trusted to own them, circulate them and use them in his own writings. He has never been credited fully for his role in creating and preserving a number of manuscripts that help us understand his famous friend. There is no doubt, therefore, that Goodere is an under-rated figure in seventeenth-century literary history. And yet, at the same time, Goodere shares many qualities with any number of his contemporaries who were trying to secure positions at court, stabilise their finances, control their estates and feed their families. In this respect, Goodere is wholly typical of his time. The Conway Papers enable us to study Goodere's role in the circulation of Donne's texts in order to illustrate the collision of his private privilege with his public prerogatives. The process demonstrates in great detail how Donne's texts, initially written for carefully controlled circulation, escaped those closed contexts into the less rarefied world of seventeenth-century patronage.

Conclusion

Patronage and Manuscript Circulation

This thesis has determined the bibliographical and cultural status of John Donne's poems in the Conway Papers by investigating both their modern and early modern provenance. We can only truly understand what these documents signified to early readers by recognising their place within a history of transmission, reproduction, collecting and archiving, as well as writing and reading. The first two chapters establish the Conways as a wealthy and powerful family whose influence as soldiers, statesmen, writers and collectors has been underestimated to date. Chapter 2 details the family's interventions in contemporary literary culture and, with Appendix 4, explores their major libraries. Chapter 3 identifies and resolves technical difficulties associated with the Conway Papers in order to facilitate close work on individual manuscripts within the archive. Chapters 4 and 5 interrogate key biographical and bibliographical assumptions about John Donne as a manuscript author that have not yet been investigated fully, based on the textual evidence preserved in the Conway archive. The resolution of the Conway Papers' complex history presented in this thesis, and the closer definition of the family's connections to Donne, were necessary endeavours in themselves, but I also hope my conclusions can advance critical understanding of John Donne, and of the manuscript medium.

The Conways possessed manuscript copies of *Goodf*, *Eclog*, *LovInf*, *Ham*, six verse epistles (*ED*, *TWPreg*, *TWHence*, *RWZeal*, *RWMind*, *CB*) and a booklet containing at least the five *Satires*. The elder Edward Conway almost certainly circulated some of the *Problems*, and likely read *Biathanatos* in manuscript. He probably met Donne in London in 1610 and in Brussels in 1612, possibly encountered him through the Virginia Company in 1622, and corresponded with him as late as 1624. Conway apparently had access to some of the manuscript-sharing networks that we associate with Donne, perhaps dating to his time as an MP around 1610. This may explain how he owned works by so many of Donne's friends, although the deterioration of the Conway Papers means we can never be sure precisely how many literary manuscripts came into his hands. Perhaps he never amassed a collection as complete or focused as the scribes of NY3 or O20, but the surviving evidence conclusively

identifies Conway as an enthusiastic early reader and collector of Donne's writings. Had not the Conway Papers undergone such neglect in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, many more literary manuscripts would have survived. These would have included unique witnesses of the first three *Satires* and the final stanza of *LovInf* – and we can only speculate what else. The Conway Papers vividly attest to the vagaries suffered by many literary archives, but their implications about Donne's early reception are much more significant.

One question that emerges from this thesis, and implicitly permeates much of Donne studies in general, is why quite so many Donne poems survive in manuscript. Consulting Beal's *Index*, it is abundantly clear that the extant poetical poems by Sir Philip Sidney (219 entries), William Drummond of Hawthornden (354), Ben Jonson (739) and Sir Walter Raleigh (822) are dwarfed by Donne's, whose 4095 entries (now around 4500) total twice as many as these four major authors combined. Given that Donne repeatedly attempted to restrict the circulation of his work, and even destroyed some copies, the abundance of material is particularly striking. This unprecedented publishing phenomenon can only partly be attributed to Donne's celebrity as a preacher from 1615 and the printing of his works in 1633 and 1635. Many of the composite and miscellany manuscripts containing his work were composed in the 1620s and 1630s but Donne's work was evidently of great general interest before his ordination, and certainly before it was available in print. His popularity among early readers rested, no doubt, on the exceptional quality of his verse and prose, his elegant wit, his learned, intricate arguments and the provocative juxtapositions of the sacred and erotic to which we are still drawn today. But in order to explain why his early readership was so numerous, we must investigate more thoroughly the networks of circulation through which Donne's writings passed. The Conway Papers offer a rich starting point for such a study.

Approaching Donne's life and writings through the provenance history of existing artefacts has enormous potential for future research. Textual collation allows us to understand the histories of individual verses, and proves that poems arrived into early modern miscellanies through a number of different routes. Because the mechanics of their transmission can, with

determination, be exposed, the Conway Papers allow us to investigate the bibliographical nature of the manuscript separates and fascicles which transported those poems to their earliest readers. The Conway Papers contain only 12 of around 4500 surviving manuscript witness of Donne's poems, and this thesis concentrates on only a few of the 239 manuscript sources in which those witnesses are found. However, by focusing on the collectors and scribes who acquired and distributed these manuscripts, my work presents unique discoveries about the contexts of seventeenth-century textual circulation. Although the Conways represent the end of only one line of dissemination, they enable investigation into earlier stages of the transmission process. The nature of the family's direct connection to Donne remains elusive, and further clarification is dependent on the discovery of new biographical facts. Nevertheless, a full understanding of the Conways is essential for a study of scribes like George Gerrard and Sir Henry Goodere, whose agency in turn is suggestive about Donne's own attitudes towards the circulation of his writings.

For Donne's poems to have multiplied in manuscript to the extent they did, either Donne himself released significantly more copies, to more people, than we know about, or the friends to whom he entrusted his works transmitted them to more readers than Donne himself wished. Through Goodere, we can recreate some of the moments at which Donne's works left a closed network and entered the domain of the collector and transcriber. The question that remains is whether Goodere's role in the circulation of Donne's poems was unique. Further close attention to the circulation activities of other known scribes identified in this thesis, especially Woodward, Gerrard and Jonson, would be the logical place to begin such an endeavour. However, to answer the question fully would require a much broader study of early modern manuscripts, building on the biographical and bibliographical discoveries of Beal, Love, Marotti, Woudhuysen and others in recent years. My thesis has suggested some important ways in which the Conway Papers can advance our knowledge of manuscript publication in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, and how their contents affect critical debates about Donne, particularly with regard to the manuscript medium and to issues of literary patronage.

Donne and manuscript publication

Over the century covered by my thesis – from the knighthood of Sir John Conway in 1559 to the death of the second Viscount in 1655 – the medium of print was increasingly available to writers, and was increasingly chosen as a means of publication. Nevertheless, there were a number of compelling reasons why an author might circulate his work in manuscript. One straightforward incentive for choosing manuscript was the comparative ease of producing and disseminating a handwritten copy of a short literary work, rather than having it printed, a matter of minutes or hours rather than days or weeks. Equally, in order to make a printed volume financially viable, one would require a substantial collection of poems: a single verse was best published in manuscript. Woudhuysen suggests some alternative reasons, that the medium ‘allowed a certain freedom of expression, especially about political, religious and personal matters, which printed books might not’ and that it ‘had the added advantage of allowing authors and scribes precisely the audience they wanted to address’.¹ A manuscript copy of a literary work retained a sense of personal ‘presence’ that could be lost in a printed volume, or the medium might be chosen for reasons of discretion, privately to communicate sensitive messages not fit for public consumption.² A work that has been printed carries an implication that its contents will be considered relevant for a general readership, whereas many personal, occasional poems carry significance only for a small group of readers. As John Buxton asks, ‘Why should they publish [i.e. print] what had been written for friends?’³ A work’s value to an individual reader may be entirely disproportionate to the reactions of a general readership, making it inappropriate for mass production.

Many individuals and groups believed that ‘having something printed would “expose” a writer to “censure” if not ridicule’.⁴ The manuscript medium allowed anonymity for authors and transmitters of embarrassing material, such as the Conway Papers ballad-maker (or sender) whose tongue-in-cheek sexist verses were accompanied by the note, ‘Pray my Lord

¹ Woudhuysen, *Sidney*, p. 12.

² On ‘presence’ in manuscript, see Love, *Culture and Commerce*, pp. 141-8.

³ John Buxton, *Sir Philip Sidney and the English Renaissance*, 3rd edn. (Houndmills, 1987), p. 24.

⁴ David D. Hall, *Ways of Writing* (Philadelphia, PA, 2008), p. 50. Hall explores textual practice in early American colonies, and his comment refers to opinions the settlers brought with them from England.

tell nobody from whom this song comes, for I am ashamed to owne it'.⁵ On a more abstract level, J. W. Saunders's 1951 formulation of 'the stigma of print' remains an influential way of thinking about manuscript publication.⁶ Saunders claimed that a gentleman author would not have wished to be thought of as a print writer because print connoted professionalism. Steven May has argued against the validity of 'the stigma of print', listing many Henrician and early Elizabethan courtier-writers who appeared in print, though he admits that until Elizabeth's reign there appears to have been a marked caution about the printing of literary works. May surmises that it was

poesy, not the printing press, which our ancestors viewed with suspicion: the 'stigma of print' should give place to the 'stigma of verse.'⁷

May's corrective to Saunders is salutary, but should the revised formulation not read 'the stigma of *printed verse*'? Poetry, as May himself recognises, was not avoided *per se*, otherwise none would survive in manuscript. Manuscript circulation of poetry among the gentry and nobility continued throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and its proponents did, arguably, retain an aura of aloofness from the market-led world of print.

Writing about his *Anniversaries* in April 1612, Donne himself seems to allude to such an attitude:

the fault that I acknowledge in my self, is to have *descended* to print any thing in verse, which though it have excuse even in our times, by men who professe, and practise much gravitie; yet I confesse I wonder how I *declined* to it, and do not pardon my self[.]⁸

Donne admits that print is increasingly a socially acceptable mode of publication (it is vouched for by reputable men 'in our times'), but he remains cautious about the medium. It

⁵ B11, fol. 43v.

⁶ J. W. Saunders, 'The Stigma of Print: A Note on the Social Bases of Tudor Poetry', in *EC*, 1 (1951), pp. 139-64. Cf. Edward Arber's edition of *Tottel's Miscellany* (1870), p. iii, for an earlier claim to this effect, noted by Steven May in 'Tudor Aristocrats and the Mythical "Stigma of Print"', *Renaissance Papers 1980* (Durham, NC, 1981), pp. 11-19, at p. 12. For one recent uncritical use of the term see Paulina Kewes, 'Historicizing Plagiarism', in *Plagiarism in Early Modern England*, ed. Paulina Kewes (Houndmills, 2003), pp. 1-18, p. 10.

⁷ May, 'Tudor Aristocrats', p. 17.

⁸ *Letters*, p. 238. My emphases.

is possible that the harsh criticism Donne received about this poem deterred him from printing almost any other verse for the rest of his life. Alternatively, his fears were less specific: not that this particular work was targeted, but that print left all writers open to criticism from a readership they could not carefully select. Donne, already curtailing the circulation of his poems in manuscript by the 1590s, was acutely worried about the ‘many interpretations’ that the proposed printing of his work in 1614 would engender.⁹ (It is not clear if he meant that the verse itself would be variously interpreted, or his very decision to print it.) Nevertheless, in the passage quoted above, the words ‘descended’ and ‘declined’, with their implications of qualitative stratification, do appear to communicate a disdain for printed poetry. Donne’s famous Latin verse to Dr Andrews, translated by Edmund Blunden, also establishes an apparent opposition between the two media:

What Printing-presses yield we think good store,
But what is writ by hand we reverence more:
A book that with this printing-blood is dyed
On shelves for dust and moth is set aside,
But if ’t be penned it wins a sacred grace
And with the ancient Fathers takes its place ...¹⁰

We must also contend with Donne’s instruction to Robert Ker about the manuscript of *Biathanatos*: ‘I forbid it only the Presse, and the Fire; publish it not, but yet burn it not; and between those, do what you will with it.’¹¹

Certainly an argument could be constructed from these passages in Donne’s own writings to suggest that he disdained print and embraced manuscript, but Donne’s comments about poetry itself complicate this argument. In 1610, Goodere asked Donne to send some verses to the Countess of Huntingdon, and Donne’s reluctant reply reveals a distinct ambivalence:

that knowledge which she [Lady Huntingdon] hath of me, was in the beginning of a graver course, then of a Poet, into which (that I may also keep my *dignity*) I would not seem to *relapse*.

⁹ *Letters*, p. 197. For his comments about the *Elegies* and *Satires*, see Chapter 4, p. 137,

¹⁰ Edmund Blunden’s translation of a Latin verse by John Donne; ‘Some Seventeenth-Century Latin Poems by English Writers’, *UTQ*, 25 (1955-6), pp. 10-22 at p. 11, cited in *Index*, 1.1.245.

¹¹ *Letters*, p. 22.

He continues, noting his competing loyalties to Lady Bedford: ‘for her [Lady Bedford’s] delight (since she *descends* to them) I had reserved ... all the verses, which I should make’.¹² What are we to make of these comments? As so often with Donne, there is a danger of extrapolating a misleading general rule from a context-specific comment. Peter Beal warned against precisely this mistake when he discussed Donne’s words about *Biathanatos*, noting that the comment

has been seen as encapsulating Donne’s whole attitude towards his unpublished works in general ... his wholehearted support of the coterie manuscript culture to which they belonged[.] ... I think we must ... recognize that Donne is applying very specific instructions to one very specific work[.]¹³

We may say precisely the same about the other extracts quoted above. Andrews’s children had recently destroyed one of Donne’s printed books, and Andrews had supplied the damaged pages in a manuscript copy (it is not specified whether this was in his autograph). Donne’s poem was intended to smooth over any potential embarrassment. Lady Huntingdon had known Donne when he was employed by Egerton, and Donne probably continued to feel embarrassment a decade later about the circumstances surrounding his dismissal from that post. As Gary Stringer summarises:

The apparent disparagement of poetry and printing in these passages cannot be totally discounted, of course, but each must be appreciated in the full context within which it occurs.¹⁴

Like Donne’s words, his manuscripts must be treated on a case-by-case basis, and judged on a combination of their contents, textual history and the identities of their scribes and owners.

Donne and patronage

Recent work on Donne has identified the issue of patronage as a major topic of critical debate, and my study of the Conway Papers has suggested new approaches to this field. R.

¹² Ibid., p. 103-4. My emphases.

¹³ Beal, *Scribes*, p. 31.

¹⁴ Gary A. Stringer, ‘The Composition and Dissemination of Donne’s Writings’, *Handbook*, pp. 12-25, at p. 15.

C. Bald's biography (1970) established as commonplace that Donne spent many years after his impolitic marriage in a desperate search for paid employment or financial assistance from wealthy acquaintances, but the evidence for this argument is minimal. Bald pointed to three episodes to illustrate Donne's supposed search for patronage, admitting they were 'comparatively few' in number.¹⁵ But they are only '*comparatively few*' if one assumes there were many more; if, in other words, the argument has been settled *a priori*. Judging from the known evidence, Donne was in fact half-heartedly applying for just a few posts that he was unlikely to be awarded. Nevertheless, Bald's narrative was accepted for many years by influential critics. John Carey's *Life of Donne* (1981) followed this line and exaggerated its implications to depict Donne as a grasping careerist. In a similar vein, Arthur Marotti (1981) has argued that

Donne actually treated literature as an avocation rather than a vocation, as part of a style of life and career whose goals were the social prestige and preferment that successful exploitation of the patronage system would win ... His life from the early 1590s to his ordination in 1615, the time span within which almost all his poetry was composed, shows his steady concern with competition, ambition, and career – in effect, with the realities and rules of patronage.¹⁶

Marotti's *John Donne, Coterie Poet* describes potential sites of poetic production that Donne would have encountered, defines them as places of 'competition, ambition, and career[ism]', and extrapolates interpretations of the poetry in the light of this set-up. I hope that my focus on Donne's interactions with friends like Goodere, Brooke and the Woodwards can contribute to future work that will balance the allegations of tunnel-vision careerism by illustrating Donne's deeply-felt obligations to the 'religion of friendship'.

I see little or no evidence within the poems or letters themselves of Donne's sense of 'competition' with friends like Goodere. As I argued in Chapter 4, the verse letters do not exhibit signs of one-upmanship, but rather encouraged replies in order to propagate the friendship. Similarly, in Donne's prose letters to social and financial superiors like Ker and Bedford I detect carefully cultivated, respectful intellectual amity rather than (to use a

¹⁵ Bald, *Life*, p. 160.

¹⁶ Arthur F. Marotti, 'John Donne and the Rewards of Patronage', in *Patronage in the Renaissance*, eds. Guy Fitch Lytle and Stephen Orgel (Princeton, NJ, 1981), pp. 207-34 at pp. 208-09.

selection of Carey's phrases) 'self-advancing ... self-absorption' from a man fuelled by 'power lust' who would 'convert his [own] daughter's death into a means of improving his prospects'.¹⁷ While I have not examined Lady Bedford at length in this study, her relationship with Donne would benefit from further investigation along these lines, in order to ask where exactly one draws the line between a friend and a patron. It seems an insufficiently shaded distinction to make the giving of money the definitive difference. Inevitably there are patrons who are also friends, and friends who lend money who are not patrons. My discussions of friendship and gift-giving in Chapter 5 suggest approaches that could help advance these questions.

The argument that Donne's poetry was conceived competitively partly derives from the word 'coterie', an eighteenth-century term which has become a critical commonplace in Donne studies.¹⁸ It can mean 'An organized association of persons for political, social, or other purposes; a club' (*OED*, *n.* 1), 'A circle of persons associated together and distinguished from "outsiders", a "set"' (2) or (ignoring the specific meaning of 2a) 'A "set" associated by certain exclusive interests, pursuits, or aims; a clique' (2b). Donne's friends were not an 'organized association', which rules out the first definition, but neither, I would argue, were they a distinctive 'set', with a host of exclusively shared assumptions (unlike, say, the Order of the Fancy, discussed in Chapter 2, pp. 77-9). As far as we know, the only factor that truly binds them together is their friendship with Donne. Marotti explains in his preface that he used the word to imply that 'only close friends, patrons, and patronesses had limited access to the poetry Donne wrote'.¹⁹ But the word 'coterie' is misleading, suggesting a large, inter-connected manuscript-sharing circle in which Lady Bedford and Thomas Woodward exchanged verse, or Henry Wotton and Robert Ker. The evidence suggests, to me, that Donne cultivated a number of discrete individual friendships which sometimes overlapped. A less pithy but more accurate rendering, therefore, of 'coterie poet' is 'poet who tried to restrict his readership'. When he sent poems to one

¹⁷ John Carey, *John Donne* (1981), pp. 95-6, 122. Carey's words have been taken a little out of context, but are nevertheless representative of his argument.

¹⁸ See, for example, several uses throughout *Handbook* (e.g. pp. 151, 153, 244), the most recent major work on Donne at the time of writing.

¹⁹ Marotti, *Coterie Poet*, p. xi.

friend, they were designed to reach that friend, except on the occasions when he asked one individual to pass on a poem on to another.

Our understanding of Donne's social position as a poet also requires a more refined understanding of the term 'patronage', and for account to be taken of recent biographical discoveries that situate Donne within early modern power structures but do not allow him to be defined by them alone. Undeniably, 'patronage' is a useful term for understanding certain social relations in the seventeenth century, but it must be used with caution. The concept is not a monolithic one, and it was possible for a writer to restrict and control their own involvement in the 'world of patronage' (insofar as this exists as a singular concept). As I have argued, the same can be said about manuscript publication. The study of this publishing medium has developed profoundly over a thirty-year timeframe, from the publication of Beal's *Index* (1980) through the important studies of Love (1993) and Woudhuysen (1996), and many articles in *English Manuscript Studies, 1100-1700*. Manuscript culture, like the literature it transmits and the social conditions under which it is produced, changes over time, and our understanding of it must be informed by the specific historical context of any individual transaction. Just as the notion of patronage in the factionally balanced administration of Elizabeth's court must be understood as distinct from patronage in the Buckingham-dominated Jacobean and early Caroline systems, the manuscript traditions of the rarefied Sidney circle require different treatment from the bawdy ballads being thrown through windows during the Interregnum. There is no singular 'patronage system', nor one 'manuscript culture'.

Nevertheless, both these terms are still useful if carefully contextualised, and with the caveat that authors engaged with both patronage and manuscript publication in a number of distinct and overlapping ways. We may discern precisely such an occurrence by returning to the years 1613-15, when Donne was caught between two court factions, coalescing around Pembroke and Carr. He was not alone in this position: Samuel Daniel, for example, was supported by both Lady Bedford and the Earl of Salisbury. When the latter died, Bedford's enemy Carr assumed patronage of Daniel's *First Part of the Historie of*

England.²⁰ Jonson, too, faced patronage problems involving Carr. Jonson was a long-term adherent of the Essex faction, and Frances Howard (when still Lady Essex) had performed in *The Masque of Queenes* in 1609.²¹ Jonson had been very close to Thomas Overbury, living with him and even assisting his courtship of Elizabeth, Countess of Rutland.²² He was patronised by both Lady Bedford and the Earl of Pembroke, the Howards' enemies at court. As well as *Hymenaei* in 1606, Bedford had danced in Jonson's masques of *Blackness* (1605), *Beauty* (1608) and *Queenes* (1609), and he dedicated three epigrams to her.²³ Nevertheless, Jonson offered an autograph poem for the Somerset–Howard wedding of 1613, which now survives tipped into a 1640 folio of his *Workes*.²⁴

Examining Jonson and Donne's strategies of self-presentation in the context of the marriage is instructive about the interweaving themes of patronage and manuscript circulation which have emerged in this thesis. Like Donne's *Eclog* (see Chapter 4, pp. 192-5), Jonson's poem is very carefully structured so as not to praise the new favourite too directly.²⁵ Jonson protected his reputation as an independent writer, supported by patrons but never owned by them, and he makes a virtue of this in his praise of Somerset:

whose heart, and thought
Do wayte vpon thee: ... theyre *Loue not bought*.
Such weare true wedding robes, and are true friendes
(3-5. My emphasis.)

Jonson maintained a consistent rhetorical position, which insisted that his praise of patrons would become meaningless if not given sincerely, if his 'thought' was 'bought'.²⁶ More broadly, Jonson, the self-styled public poet, avoided enslavement to any one patron as a necessary factor in his over-arching service to the state.²⁷

²⁰ John Pitcher (ed.), *Samuel Daniel: The Brotherton Manuscript* (Leeds, 1981), pp. 66ff.

²¹ David Lindley, *The Trials of Frances Howard* (1993), p. 46.

²² Mark Bland, 'Ben Jonson and the Legacies of the Past', *HLQ*, 67 (2004), pp. 371-400, at p. 377.

²³ LXXVI, LXXXIV and XCIV in Herford and Simpson, 8.52, 54-5 and 60.

²⁴ BL, shelfmark C.28.m.11. The poem was first printed in Herford and Simpson, 8.384.

²⁵ Jonson focuses on the joys and virtues of the union itself, see e.g. lines 8, 12-14, 18-20.

²⁶ In Jonson's sonnet 'To my Book' he states: 'He that departs with his own honesty / For vulgar praise, doth it too dearly buy' (13-14). Cf. Alison Scott, *Selfish Gifts*, p. 140.

²⁷ For more on Jonson's 'vocation' as a public poet see Richard Helgerson, *Self-Crowned Laureates* (1983), pp. 101-84.

Donne, on the other hand, apparently disavowed any public reputation as a poet. Yet the word ‘bought’ in Jonson’s analysis of patronage is immediately redolent of Donne’s words to Carr (then still Viscount Rochester), in that difficult period when he sought his help winning an ecclesiastical position:

After I was grown to be your Lordships, by all the titles that I could thinke upon, it hath pleased your Lordship to make another title to me, *by buying me*. You may have many better bargaines in your purchases, but never a better title then to me, nor any thing which you may call yours more absolutely and intirely.²⁸

Taken out of context, Jonson’s and Donne’s self-presentations in these passages seem to be formulated as binary opposites: Jonson stridently his own man and Donne compelled to servitude by financial obligation to his benefactor. Following Jeanne Shami’s recent re-ordering of the 1613-15 letters, however, the sarcasm and impertinence of this letter become abundantly clear. Instead of giving Donne a church position, Carr sent him money, as if he were any other client, and Donne’s response is anything but servile.

When Jonson printed his masque on the Somerset–Howard marriage in 1616, soon after the couple themselves had been imprisoned, he deleted all direct references to the wedding itself.²⁹ Going one step further, he actively celebrated Somerset’s fall in *The Golden Age Restored* (1616), and began courting the up-and-coming George Villiers, the new face of the Pembroke faction. Jonson never printed his Somerset epithalamion, and the poem survives in only one copy, suggesting that he was careful to prevent its dissemination. James Knowles has argued that Jonson’s choice of medium, an autograph manuscript, thus represents his ‘aspiration towards intimacy or especially close, personal connection’.³⁰ While this is often true for Jonson’s autograph poetry, on this occasion, given his divided loyalty and subsequent *volte face* in print, it seems to me that manuscript publication allowed Jonson to conceal his gesture from public scrutiny. His double-edged choice of medium supports his carefully distanced stance, and offers a model for the ways in which

²⁸ *Letters*, p. 290. My emphasis.

²⁹ Braunmuller, p. 243.

³⁰ Knowles, ‘Crack Kisses Not Staves: Sexual Politics and Court Masques in 1613-1614’, in *The Crisis of 1614 and The Addled Parliament*, eds. Steven Clucas and Rosalind Davies (Aldershot and Burlington, VT, 2003), pp. 143-160, at p. 156.

manuscript can limit public scrutiny. Discussing the rhetoric of the Somerset poems, David Norbrook has argued that ‘to speak of the discourse of power as something one had either to accept or to subvert *en bloc* is to overlook the degree to which that discourse could be refashioned by individual choices’.³¹ His observation, it would seem, is equally pertinent to the bibliographical nature of texts.

Copies of Donne’s *Eclog*, on the other hand, did reach a wider reading public. Was this because Donne was less careful about the circulation of this text, towards which he must have had deeply ambivalent feelings? The evidence suggests that more than one copy was released into circulation, which either implies that Donne himself was responsible for disseminating it in multiple copies, or that the individuals to whom he sent it were less discreet about its transmission than he was. The poem’s survival in the Conway Papers, in the hand of Sir Henry Goodere, suggests that the latter option is the more likely. As more volumes of the *Donne Variorum* are published, recording the relationships between Donne’s surviving texts, more ambitious studies will be enabled that will allow us to chart the early lives of his poems, and to fix with greater precision their routes of circulation among early readers. In combination with new archival and biographical discoveries, such an approach will satisfy both sides of the theoretical divide delineated in my introduction, allowing scholars to speculate on ‘authorial intention’ *and* to trace the process by which Donne’s texts multiplied and became ‘socialised’. The Conway Papers, which record texts in various early stages of circulation and whose routes of transmission can be recreated realistically, present an ideal testing ground for this methodology.

³¹ David Norbrook, ‘The Monarchy of Wit and the Republic of Letters: Donne’s Politics’, in *Soliciting Interpretation*, eds. Katharine Maus and Elizabeth Harvey (Chicago, IL, 1990), pp. 3-36, at p. 19.

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For Common Abbreviations, see pp. vii-xii.

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London*British Library*

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List of knights, sixteenth century

Add. MS 5830

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Add. MS 19,834

'Certain Chroniculary Discourses [of affairs in Ireland] for the
yeares of our Lord God 1612, 1613, 1614, 1615'Add. MSS 20,091
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Add. MS 23,224

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Jean Colladon

Add. MS 23,228

Conway Papers, miscellaneous fragments

Add. MS 23,229

Conway Papers, Conway MS (B11)

Add. MS 25,707

Skipwith MS (B13)

Add. MS 27,407

Political pieces: the collections of Oliver and Peter Le Neve and
Thomas Martin, of Palgrave

Add. MS 27,962

Correspondence of Florentine ambassadors to England

Add. MS 28,635

Transcript of a manuscript belonging to Dr. Harington of Bath,
containing copies of poems by Sir John Harington and John
Harington, his father, and others

Add. MS 31,323

Maps, plans, and drawings of places in Great Britain and Ireland

Add. MS 33,935

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Add. MS 69,920

Coke Papers

Add. MS 70,002

Portland Papers: Harley Papers: General Series

Add. MS 70,004

Portland Papers: Harley Papers: General Series

Add. MS 70,005

Portland Papers: Harley Papers: General Series

Add. MS 70,006

Portland Papers: Harley Papers: General Series

Add. MSS 72,242-
620

Trumbull Papers

Cotton MS Galba C.VIII	Alexander Farnese, D. of Parma, Governor of the Low countries, letters etc.
Cotton MS Galba D.III	Alexander Farnese, D. of Parma, Governor of the Low countries, letters etc.
Egerton MS 2597	Correspondence of James Hay, Baron Hay, Viscount Doncaster, and Earl of Carlisle, chiefly in connexion with his embassies
Egerton MS 2623	A collection of papers chiefly relating to the English drama, from c. reign of Henry VII to 1780s; formed by John Payne Collier
Harley MS 5110	Works of Xenophon, Polybius, Maximus Planudes, Plutarch, Proclus Diadochus, Lucian and others
Harley MS 7001	Letters, seventeenth century
Harley MS 7002	Letters, sixteenth and seventeenth century
Lansdowne MS 75	Misc. documents, 1593
Royal MS 18 A.XLV	Ben Jonson, <i>The Masque of Queens</i>
<i>The National Archives, Kew</i>	
C115/M35/8388	John Pory to Viscount Scudamore, 17 December 1631
Uncatalogued internal records	Introductory Note to State Papers Domestic, James I (SP 14) Introductory Note to State Papers Domestic, Edward VI–James I: Addenda (SP 15) Introductory Note to State Papers Domestic, Charles I (SP 16)
OBS 1/886/12	Press List of the Contents of the State Paper Branch Record Office Anterior to 1688
PROB 10/158	Will of Sir Henry Goodere, 1595
PROB 11/160	Will of Edward, first Viscount Conway, 1631
PROB 11/180	Will of Dame Katherine Viscountess Conway, 1639
PROB 11/336	Will of Dame Frances, Viscountess Conway, 1671
SP 9/51	Composite volume of MSS
SP 12/16	State Papers, 1547-80
SP 12/287	State Papers, 1601-3
SP 14/4	State Papers, 1603-10
SP 14/17	State Papers, 1623-5
SP 14/57	State Papers, 1603-10
SP 14/58	State Papers, 1623-5

SP 14/71	State Papers, 1611-18
SP 14/72	State Papers, 1611-18
SP 14/76	State Papers, 1611-18
SP 14/88	State Papers, 1611-18
SP 14/114	State Papers, 1619-23
SP 14/115	State Papers, 1623-5
SP 14/116	State Papers, 1623-5
SP 14/122	State Papers, 1619-23
SP 14/130	State Papers, 1611-18
SP 14/131	State Papers, 1619-23
SP 14/134	State Papers, 1619-23
SP 14/137	State Papers, 1619-23
SP 14/140	State Papers, 1619-23
SP 14/153	State Papers, 1623-5
SP 14/154	State Papers, 1623-5
SP 14/158	State Papers, 1623-5
SP 14/159	State Papers, 1623-5
SP 14/162	State Papers, 1619-23
SP 14/163	State Papers, 1623-5
SP 14/164	State Papers, 1623-5
SP 14/165	State Papers, 1623-5
SP 14/171	State Papers, 1623-5
SP 14/173	State Papers, 1623-5
SP 14/176	State Papers, 1623-5
SP 14/180	State Papers, 1623-5
SP 14/205	State Papers, 1623-5
SP 14/214	State Papers, 1619-23
SP 14/523	State Papers, Addenda, 1625-49
SP 15/41	State Papers, Addenda, 1580-1625
SP 15/42	State Papers, Addenda, 1580-1625
SP 16/1	State Papers, 1623-5
SP 16/4	State Papers, March 1625-December 1626
SP 16/7	State Papers, March 1625-December 1626
SP 16/8	State Papers, March 1625-December 1626
SP 16/14	State Papers, March 1625-December 1626
SP 16/16	State Papers, March 1625-December 1626
SP 16/30	State Papers, March 1625-December 1626
SP 16/32	State Papers, March 1625-December 1626
SP 16/41	State Papers, March 1625-December 1626
SP 16/60	State Papers, January 1627-February 1628
SP 16/67	State Papers, January 1627-February 1628
SP 16/68	State Papers, January 1627-February 1628
SP 16/75	State Papers, January 1627-February 1628
SP 16/78	State Papers, January 1627-February 1628

SP 16/79	State Papers, January 1627-February 1628
SP 16/82	State Papers, January 1627-February 1628
SP 16/84	State Papers, January 1627-February 1628
SP 16/87	State Papers, January 1627-February 1628
SP 16/88	State Papers, January 1627-February 1628
SP 16/89	State Papers, January 1627-February 1628
SP 16/92	State Papers, January 1627-February 1628
SP 16/101	State Papers, March 1628-June 1629
SP 16/102	State Papers, March 1628-June 1629
SP 16/103	State Papers, March 1628-June 1629
SP 16/105	State Papers, March 1628-June 1629
SP 16/106	State Papers, March 1628-June 1629
SP 16/107	State Papers, March 1628-June 1629
SP 16/111	State Papers, March 1628-June 1629
SP 16/114	State Papers, March 1628-June 1629
SP 16/118	State Papers, March 1628-June 1629
SP 16/119	State Papers, March 1628-June 1629
SP 16/123	State Papers, March 1628-June 1629
SP 16/139	State Papers, March 1628-June 1629
SP 16/142	State Papers, March 1628-June 1629
SP 16/144	State Papers, March 1628-June 1629
SP 16/153	State Papers, July 1629-March 1631
SP 16/166	State Papers, July 1629-March 1631
SP 16/168	State Papers, July 1629-March 1631
SP 16/171	State Papers, July 1629-March 1631
SP 16/172	State Papers, July 1629-March 1631
SP 16/173	State Papers, July 1629-March 1631
SP 16/175	State Papers, July 1629-March 1631
SP 16/183	State Papers, July 1629-March 1631
SP 16/184	State Papers, July 1629-March 1631
SP 16/204	State Papers, April 1631-March 1633
SP 16/210	State Papers, April 1631-March 1633
SP 16/215	State Papers, April 1631-March 1633
SP 16/238	State Papers, April 1633-April 1634
SP 16/239	State Papers, April 1633-April 1634
SP 16/252	State Papers, April 1633-April 1634
SP 16/257	State Papers, April 1633-April 1634
SP 16/258	State Papers, April 1633-April 1634
SP 16/262	State Papers, April 1633-April 1634
SP 16/275	State Papers, May 1634-March 1635
SP 16/285	State Papers, May 1634-March 1635
SP 16/291	State Papers, April-December 1635
SP 16/295	State Papers, April-December 1635
SP 16/298	State Papers, April-December 1635
SP 16/314	State Papers, 1635-June 1636
SP 16/315	State Papers, 1635-June 1636

SP 16/318	State Papers, 1635-June 1636
SP 16/322	State Papers, 1635-June 1636
SP 16/326	State Papers, 1635-June 1636
SP 16/329	State Papers, June 1636-April 1637
SP 16/331	State Papers, June 1636-April 1637
SP 16/361	State Papers, April-November 1637
SP 16/364	State Papers, April-November 1637
SP 16/365	State Papers, April-November 1637
SP 16/366	State Papers, April-November 1637
SP 16/409	State Papers, September 1638-March 1639
SP 16/415	State Papers, September 1638-March 1639
SP 16/418	State Papers, April-September 1639
SP 16/427	State Papers, April-September 1639
SP 16/428	State Papers, April-September 1639
SP 16/432	State Papers, October 1639-March 1640
SP 16/441	State Papers, October 1639-March 1640
SP 16/450	State Papers, April-August 1640
SP 16/451	State Papers, April-August 1640
SP 16/453	State Papers, April-August 1640
SP 16/455	State Papers, April-August 1640
SP 16/460	State Papers, April-August 1640
SP 16/461	State Papers, April-August 1640
SP 16/463	State Papers, April-August 1640
SP 16/464	State Papers, April-August 1640
SP 16/465	State Papers, April-August 1640
SP 16/469	State Papers, September 1640-May 1641
SP 16/472	State Papers, September 1640-May 1641
SP 16/521	State Papers, Addenda, 1625-1649
SP 16/522	State Papers, Addenda, 1625-1649
SP 16/523	State Papers, Addenda, 1625-1649
SP 16/524	State Papers, Addenda, 1625-1649
SP 16/525	State Papers, Addenda, 1625-1649
SP 16/530	State Papers, Addenda, 1625-1649
SP 17/D	State Papers, Addenda, 1625-1649
SP 18/1	State Papers, 1649-50
SP 18/11	State Papers, 1650
SP 18/25	State Papers, November 1651-November 1652
SP 18/35	State Papers, December 1652-June
SP 20/7	Catalogue of sequestered books, 1643
SP 25/28	State Papers, November 1651-November 1652
SP 29/413	State Papers, January 1679-August 1680

SP 29/414	State Papers, January 1679-August 1680
SP 52/14	State Papers, Scotland, 1547-1603
SP 63/207	State Papers, Ireland, November 1600-July 1601
SP 77/7	State Papers, Foreign, Flanders, 1585-1780
SP 84/21	State Papers, Foreign, Holland and Flanders, April-December 1587
SP 84/28	State Papers, Foreign, July-December 1588
SP 84/36	State Papers, Foreign, August 1589-June 1590
SP 84/57	State Papers, Foreign, Holland, c.1560-1780

University College London, Special Collections

Ogden MS 31	John Donne, Jr. to Edward, second Viscount Conway
Ogden MS 42	Edmund Waller, 'The Lady Katherine Howards Voyage and Enterteynement, aboard the <i>Triumph</i> by the Earle of Northumberland he being then Lord High Admirall'

National Art Library at the V&A

Dyce 25.F.16	Dyce MS
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New Haven, CT

Beinecke Library, Yale University

Osborn c431	Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland, <i>Advice to his Son</i>
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New York, NY

New York Public Library

Berg Collection	Westmoreland MS
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Nottingham

Nottingham University Library, Special Collections

Portland MSS, Pw V 89	Frances, Lady Pelham, 'Expression of Faith'
Portland MSS	Brilliana, Lady Harley, Commonplace Book, 1622

Oxford

Bodleian Library

MS è Musaeo 131	John Donne, <i>Biathanatos</i>
MS Eng. hist. c. 173	Diary of Sir Frederick Madden
MS Eng. hist. c. 272	Scottish pamphlets
MS Eng. poet. c. 50	Daniell MS
MS Eng. poet. e. 99	Dowden MS
MS Firth c. 1	Poems by Sir Richard Fanshawe
MS Gough. Norfolk, No. 43	Commonplace book of Thomas Brampton

MS Malone 23	Poetical miscellany devoted to libels
MS Rawl. B. 146	Manuscripts relating to English history
MS Rawl. poet. 61	Literary works in the hand of Ralph Crane
MS Tanner 73	Miscellaneous correspondence

The Queen's College Library

MS 216	Manuscript containing a booklet of Donne's <i>Satires</i>
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Paris

Bibliothèque nationale

MS Dupuy 951	Daniel Rogers's verse
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Petworth, Sussex

Petworth House Library

No shelfmark	John Donne jr. to Edward, second Viscount Conway (n.d.)
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Reading

Berkshire County Record Office

Trumbull alphabetical correspondence 48/134	
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Trumbull alphabetical correspondence, 48/137	
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San Marino, California

Henry E. Huntington Library

EL 6862	'A relacion of the Princes noble and vertuous disposicion and of sundrey of his witty and pleasant speaches./'
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EL 6893	Bridgewater MS
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Hastings Correspondence Boxes 5-14 (1606-1634)

Hastings Literature Box 1

HA 14342	Edward, second Viscount Conway, to his son Edward, 7 May 1648
HA 14575-83	Correspondence of Frances, Viscountess Conway
HA 15612-31	Correspondence of Dorothy Rawdon

HM 198, pt. 1	Haslewood-Kingsborough MS
and pt. 2	

HM 16522	Miscellany of Cavalier verse and balladry
HM 31188	Hertford MS

Shrewsbury

Shropshire Archives

Bridgewater Collection

212/364/81-3,	Correspondence of John Egerton, Earl of Bridgewater
87, 90	

Stratford-upon-Avon*Shakespeare Birthplace Trust*

DR98/135 Will of Richard Verney of Compton Verney, 12 April 1522

DR98/136 Feoffment by Richard Verney to Sir Edward Grey, William Feldyng, William Boughton, Edward Conway and others, 12 April 1522

Waltham, MA*Bentley University*

See under Birmingham

Warwick*Warwickshire Record Office*

CR114A/261-810 Seymour Papers

Washington, DC*Folger Shakespeare Library*

MS X.d.172 Conway Papers, Sir John Davies, *Device to Entertain Her Majesty at Harefield House*

MS X.d.580 John Donne, booklet of *Satires*

No shelfmark Edmund Gentil, *Difinitions in the arte of Geometrie, in Number 44 necessarie to be perfectlie understoode of all Martialistes that have Command ... Probleames or Rules of Practise in the Arte of Geometrie in Number 36* (c.1595-1610)

In Private Ownership

Heneage MS

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